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LAND TENURE IN THE TRANSKEI

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The writer of this article is in the British Colonial Service in East Africa. Some years ago he made a survey of the system of land tenure in the Transkeian Territories with the object of ascertaining to what extent it would serve as a guide for the formulation of rules for the Kikuyu in Kenya. His report was submitted to the Kenya Land Commission and the following part of it was originally published in the first volume of the evidence and memoranda (Colonial No. 91 of 1934) submitted to that Commission. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

1. Although the Transkei cannot provide ready-made solutions to any of the problems of Kenya, it can make some contribution towards the solution of several of them, and notably two which are of first importance :—

- (a) Are we on surer ground in relying on an evolution and gradual development of the Native family system than we should be by making straight for individualism ?
- (b) To what extent should we rely on impartible holdings inherited by primogeniture as a means of checking uneconomic sub-division ?

2. In order to extract from the Transkei whatever help it can give towards the solution of these questions, it is necessary to attempt a comparative survey of the two land systems, the Transkeian system of individual small-holdings plus a large reservation of commonage, and the family system existing in Kikuyu. I apologize in advance for any criticism I may make of the Transkei on so short an acquaintance.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SYSTEM

3. The proclamation which inaugurated the

system of land tenure in the Transkei was No. 227 of 1898. It followed the general lines of the Glen Grey Act of 1894. One of the chief provisions was that :—

“ The locations shall be surveyed, and the available extent of arable land therein, after due allowance has been made for commonage and dwelling sites, and after allotments to claimants specially mentioned as hereinbefore provided, shall be divided into allotments of four morgen each, more or less.”

4. The proclamation has only been applied to seven of the twenty-seven districts of the Transkei, and the various dates of application were between 1898 and 1911. The total area of the seven districts is 3,458 square miles, distributed, so far as I am able to ascertain, pretty much as follows :—

Arable allotments...	637 sq. miles.
Village and kraal sites	62 „ „
Commonage	2,759 „ „

5. That is the first point I have to make about the Transkei. One usually reads about it as a system of private small holdings ; it is really, in respect of about four-fifths of its area in the sur-

veyed, and two-thirds of its area in the unsurveyed districts, a particularly stark system of commonage. I was unable to get official figures, except for the district of Tsomo, which shows:—

Arable allotments . . .	101	sq. miles.
Building sites ..	10	„ „
Commonage ..	286	„ „

It is quite possible that my calculation is faulty, and the commonage may not be more than two-thirds of the whole. Anyhow, it is big enough to be the most striking feature in the system.

6. The principle guiding the allotment of arable holdings is, as in the case of the Glen Grey Act, one man, one lot, and care is taken to prevent either the partition of one property among more than one heir, or the inheritance by one heir of more than one property. There is an elaborate table of succession, on the principle of primogeniture, laid down in Proclamation 142 of 1910, as amended by Proclamation 133 of 1924. Lands cannot be mortgaged or hypothecated in any way and holdings are impartible except by consent of the Governor-General, and transferable only with the consent of the Chief Magistrate.

7. Owing to the difficulty and cost of survey, the full rigour of the system has not been applied to the other twenty districts of the Transkei, but they work on the same ground plan in a modified form. The chief modifications are: Firstly—that the allotments are not surveyed, but simply demarcated by Native employees of the Native Commissioner, working in conjunction with the headmen in the presence of witnesses, only a rough description of the boundaries being entered in the register. Secondly—allotments are made on the principle of “one wife, one lot,” which is a great deal nearer to Native custom than the Glen Grey scheme of “one man, one lot.”

8. The arable and building allotments are held on a species of quit-rent tenure, but it differs from an ordinary quit-rent in that it cannot be redeemed. A document called a title is granted to the grantees of allotments in surveyed districts, but, as it has now been held that the conditions of tenure may be altered at any time by Proclamation, and indeed have been so altered, the instru-

ment hardly amounts to a title, although, no doubt, it is a comfort to have it and it assures to the possessor a reasonable measure of security.

9. Quit-rent is charged in surveyed districts at the rate of Sh. 3 per morgen, with a minimum of Sh. 15. In unsurveyed districts there is no quit-rent, but a local tax of Sh. 10 per kraal, with a maximum of Sh. 40 payable to Government. Both the quit-rent and the local tax are refunded by Government to the Local Councils for expenditure on local services.

10. Besides quit-rent the grantees of allotments have to pay costs of survey, which amount to about £3/10 for an arable allotment, and to £2/10 for a building allotment, plus Sh. 5 stamp in each case. Transfer, when approved, is by simple endorsement, and costs only Sh. 2/6.

11. The title contains some noteworthy provisions: among them a provision for forfeiture for non-beneficial occupation, nothing being said about compensation; and forfeiture for rebellion, or on the second conviction for theft. The title is further subject to reservation of mineral rights, and a reservation of power to the Governor-General to make—“roads, railways, dams, aqueducts, drains, and water furrows, and to conduct telegraphs over the land . . . for the benefit of the public, and to resume the whole or any portion of the said land, if required for public purposes, on payment of compensation to the proprietor for any damage or loss caused. . . .”

12. Such is the system. It remains to consider how it came into being and how it works.

RELATION OF THE SYSTEM TO NATIVE CUSTOM

13. While the system in its present form was admittedly brought into being by a series of Proclamations, following the general pattern of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, it has commonly been contended by magistrates and others whom I met in the Transkei, that the rules which were introduced copy Native custom so closely that they ought properly to be regarded as a development of it, and an intelligent anticipation of its natural course of evolution in adapting itself to modern

conditions. The reasoning seems to be somewhat as follows:—

(a) Formerly land was common property of the tribe and was vested in the chief. He apportioned it as he thought fit, being mainly influenced by bribes. Even if there may once have been prescriptive rights of various kinds, they had disappeared in the disturbances resultant from long wars, and there is no reason to believe that the chief had regard to them. To stop the system of bribery and corruption, the magistrates have taken over the functions of the chiefs, and are now the apportioners, just as the chiefs were. Except for the substitution of efficiency for bribery, there has been no interference with Native custom.

(b) Natives were accustomed to build their huts on ridges at some distance from their arable lands, and to depasture their cattle on commonage apart from both of them. The granting of one arable and one building allotment to each married man, together with a right of use for grazing purposes on the commonage, was therefore simply a systemization of the Native plan.

(c) Inheritance by primogeniture may be considered to be only an extension of the superior position which the eldest son of the senior wife always enjoys by Native custom.

14. The argument needs analysis. In the first part it is assumed that the substitution of magistrates for the tribal authorities as the apportioners of the land was not in itself a revolutionary change, and destroyed nothing in Native custom, except that it eliminated bribery and made the apportionment more systematic and efficient. It would be truer to say that it changed everything. A mere statement that chiefs apportioned the land by a system of bribes, is by no means a full account of the matter. Was the chief's action determined by the biggest bribe, or did he have regard to the burial places of ancestors, or the immanence of spirits, or rights acquired by first hunting or first clearing, or did he regard the power and position of a family? Other things being equal, did he

apportion land on a patrilocal or matrilocal basis, and did he have any special consideration for relations-in-law? Were there no dependants, or serfs, or adoptees?

15. But it seems to be open to doubt whether the chiefs concerned themselves directly in the matter so much as has been assumed, or whether bribery played the large part with which it is credited. Professor Lestrade writes: "In the tribal systems I know and which I have compared, the chiefs have no say whatever over the land. The apportionment is in the hands of the sub-chiefs from time immemorial, and no chief would take it into his head to interfere with the sub-chiefs in their job. And, as for bribery, I don't know whether it was practised on anything like even an appreciable scale with the tribes I know." Although I could quote cases in support of Professor Lestrade's statement of the general rule, I cannot venture any opinion on the particular case of the Transkei. The nearest approach to chiefs in Kikuyu were the heads of the main sections of clans, but they took no part in the allotment of land. This was left to the *githaka* heads, and even they were very much restricted and hedged about by custom. It is certainly my experience that, the more one studies Native law, the greater the weight of custom appears and the less the scope for successful bribery. But I would not go so far as to deny that bribery is a considerable force. Junod (*Life of a South African Tribe*) writes in regard to land that "influence at Court counts here as elsewhere," and Dutton (*The Basuto*) records that the chief usually "makes quite a good thing out of it."

16. But I believe that bribery is a less potent force than the various priorities of claim that are bound to appear in any society. The main strength of them among the Bantu is probably grounded in "spiritual-ownership", and this conception naturally exists where animistic beliefs prevail. Even in the Transkei there are traces, however much they have been obliterated by war. It is admitted that burial grounds of ancestors are revered and that some sort of claim exists to them. It may be apposite to quote the following passages

which have a bearing on the matter, from *A Brief History of the Pondomisi Tribe*, by Mabasa, 1883:—

"Majoli... died a natural death near the Tina River, and his body was interred in a large pool of water in the river. In cases of drought Mhlonhlo' and his predecessor Mbali used to kill an ox or oxen and the carcasses of the animals were taken and thrown in the pool wherein Majoli's body was interred, thereby supplicating for rain." And again, "Bushmen . . . also have the right of collecting a small share of the crops after harvest is over, which is a thanksgiving for the rain they bring from the heavens."

17. I was informed that in the Bizana District, where the influence of chiefs is less strong, there is developing a certain touchiness of clans and families in regard to their land, and a disposition to resent interference. The fact is not to be ignored that, in the Transkei as a whole, the chiefs as leaders in war, had attained a position of autocracy out of all proportion to the influence which their position would command through a long period of peace. At the end of the wars the stage was set for the spontaneous evolution of a system of land tenure, and by a gradual process a differentiation of rights between clans, families, and individuals would have begun to appear. But the evolution, whatever its course would have been, had no chance, for with the advent of the magistrates as apportioners in place of the tribal authorities, it was put in a strait jacket, in the shape of the Glen Grey Act and the name of efficiency. I am far from commenting on the wisdom of the step. Many considerations may have dictated it, but from that moment one must speak of the system of land tenure, not as being evolved, but as being created.

18. The second part of the argument asserts a correspondence between the system introduced and the pre-existing Native custom, because both admit of kraal sites and arable sites in private occupation, and communal rights of grazing on commonage. There certainly is a superficial similarity, but the points of dissimilarity are immensely more significant. The question of

building sites is relatively unimportant and we can pass it by, remarking only that, while in Native custom a man generally had to move his kraal after a death, he is now precluded from doing so. In regard to the arable allotment, we have to notice particularly three departures from custom: the introduction of a uniform size of plot; the restriction imposed by the principle of one man, one lot; and inheritance by primogeniture. The rigidity introduced for the excellent reason of preventing shifting cultivation, was a very serious innovation, and, like most improvements, had an obverse side. It fixed the common just as much as it fixed the arable lands. Shifting cultivation had at least the advantage of giving land an occasional rest from over-grazing and over-trampling by cattle. And this brings me to what I regard as the most important point of all. I may be wrong, and it is rather a bold thing to say, but I think there has been something of a misconception in the interpretation of the Native idea of commonage. The system introduced into the Transkei has given it a territorial significance: so much of the land arable, and so much commonage. It seems to be doubtful whether the conception ever had this territorial connotation in Native custom. I do not think it had. I think it was rather that some rights were exclusive and private, and some were shared by the community. The right of grazing is shared by the community, and is therefore common, but there was no particular area of land to which you could set boundaries and say, "This is the common". Anywhere which was not cultivated was available (except land specially reserved by the elders or in accordance with some tribal custom), but when a man's cultivated area became exhausted, he moved elsewhere, by expressed or implied permission of his chief, and the new land which he enclosed ceased to be common. The present rigidity which has been introduced by means of survey of definite arable allotments, has marked down the common permanently as common, and the arable permanently as arable, and there is no longer the recourse which was open under Native custom, of resting exhausted arable land by letting it revert to grazing, or resting over-grazed but probably well-

manured land by taking it into cultivation. I honestly believe that the demarcation of a definite area as commonage was a misconception of Native custom, and is likely to have most serious consequences. Strong support to my view of the matter is provided by the position of affairs in Kikuyu, where, as a result of a spontaneous evolution, every piece of land is "owned", but the rights of the "owner" do not extend to the exclusion of cattle from grazing on his uncultivated land. Yet he may cultivate as much of his land as he likes.

19. In the third part of the argument it is represented that inheritance by primogeniture is a natural extension of the privileged position which Native custom accords to the eldest son of the senior wife. The introduction of primogeniture as the method of succession to small-holdings is a most interesting experiment, and is worthy of every respect. In a later part of this chapter there will be occasion to study it particularly, but meanwhile it would be rash to admit too readily that it is a natural extension of Native custom. It may be so. There certainly are cases where inheritance to a house built on modern lines seems to be allowed to pass to the eldest son without any claims on it being made by other sons, and there are cases, even in Kikuyu, where property has been disposed of by will. But these cases, in my experience, are not typical or sufficiently numerous to enable any sure inference to be drawn from them. On the other hand, the customary system of inheritance is clear enough. The privileged position of the eldest son is not in respect of extra property which he inherits, but in the undistributed right of control or seigneur which passes to him. In so far as he holds more than his own share, whether of cattle or cultivated lands, he holds it as trustee, and there are no grounds for anticipating any change in this view-point for several generations. It is generally admitted to be a fact that planted trees and permanent crops play a prominent part in bringing about individual tenure (not necessarily by primogeniture), and it is certainly true that those tribes in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, which had most planted trees and permanent crops, have the most indivi-

dualized system of tenure, but even there the organization remains, and is likely to remain for generations, definitely on a family basis; the eldest son is only one among the several right-holders on the property, although he is, in a sense, the administrator and apportioner of the whole. One would have supposed that in the Transkei, where by comparison there are hardly any permanent crops or planted trees (except those planted by the Bunga), the people would have been even less ready to accept a change by which the eldest son becomes the sole right-holder and landlord. The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928), observes that, when a system of primogeniture has been introduced in order to prevent excessive sub-division, it only avails to keep the title impartible, but cannot prevent the land being sub-divided in respect of usage, since family obligations are so strong that the right-holder will never refuse facilities to the junior members of his family. It is clear that even after generations have passed the conception of primogeniture remains imperfectly assimilated. We may, I think, conclude that it was quite foreign to the minds of the Transkeian Natives at the time when it was introduced, and there are no good grounds for supposing that spontaneous evolution would, even at a remote date, necessarily take that course. The following quotation is taken from a "Memorandum on Native Location Surveys", written in 1922 by Mr. M. Vos, with reference to the Tembuland Commission Report of 1822, and well illustrates the drastic nature of the wrench which was given to Native custom:—

"After forty years the Natives are no further advanced in their views on land tenure, and the hopes of the Commission not realized when they stated: 'As the Natives see the advantage of individual tenure, they will gradually fall into European ideas as to ownership of land, and lasting peace and contentment as far as land matters are concerned will be assured.'"

20. The present official view is illustrated by extracts from the memorandum prepared this year by the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria, and entitled "A Brief Survey of the Organization, Functions, and Activities of the

Department of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa " :—

" Though the statement is made in the report of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5, that the policy of the Cape Government as regards land tenure was to begin by adopting the communal system of occupation, and by gradually adapting it to the changing conditions of life attendant upon the march of civilization, to prepare the way for recognition by the people of the advantage of an individual system, evidence is not lacking to show that in the early days the necessity for inculcating European ideas and methods among the Natives by a gradual process was not sufficiently understood."

An aspect of the matter which is of special interest to Kenya, is shown in the following extract :—

" The failure of the system in early days was largely due to the preference for tribal and communal tenure, due in a great measure to the deep-seated aversion of the chiefs to the individual tenure, as it would gradually and surely sap their control over the people."

21. I have now examined the arguments on which the assertion is based, that the Transkeian system of land tenure copied Native custom so closely that it ought to be regarded, not as an alien system superimposed, but as the Native system adapted to modern conditions. The Transkeian land measures represent a bold experiment, which merits the greatest respect and the closest study, and it would be a poor compliment to it to blind oneself to its real and vivid qualities by crediting it with others which it does not possess. In my view it is an invented system with a teleological purpose, rather than a historical or evolutionary basis. No doubt, as in the manner of one who buys clothes off a peg, a certain regard was had to the figure to be fitted, and the new garments fitted where they touched. The system deserves to be rescued from its friends, who maintain that it was introduced either with any regard for, or minute study of, Native custom, and allowed to appear and be judged in its true

character as a constructive plan designed with more care for the future than the past, with certain definite purposes in view.

SOME CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE TRANSKEIAN AND KIKUYU SYSTEMS

22. Before turning to the consideration of these purposes, it may be well to draw attention to essential differences between the Transkeian and the Kikuyu systems, which arise from the fact that the one is, to all intents and purposes manufactured, while the other is a Native *growth*:

- (a) The Transkeian system is created by act and proclamation and has no independent validity. Nothing which is not covered by rule can be legally accounted a part of the system. The position in Kikuyu is quite different, Government is bound by Order-in-Council to have due regard to Native custom in so far as it is consistent with justice and morality. *Githaka* tenure is a well-established fact of Native custom, neither unjust nor immoral. It therefore has a right to due regard from Government quite independently of the provisions of the Land Trust Ordinance. There is great value in this sub-stratum of customary lore, and in framing our rules we must be very careful to preserve the attitude of regulating and not creating.
- (b) The Transkeian system is static, in the sense that nothing can be done except as by rule provided. The Kikuyu system is dynamic, in the sense that anything can be done except as by custom or by rule prevented. It is, for instance, nothing to a District Commissioner in Kikuyu where a man builds his house or grows his crops or depastures his cattle, unless somebody complains, and in general the more he cultivates the better we are pleased. A magistrate in the Transkei has to give a permit before a man can build a house or extend the area of his cultivation, and a headman has to give permission before he can even cut sods on the commonage.

(c) The Transkeian system is administered directly, and the Kikuyu system indirectly. The direct method entails a list of regulations and instructions from which the indirect is free. For instance, in Kikuyu inheritance passes in whatever manner the *mbari* or *muhiriga* elders decide in the particular case, and in the event of a dispute the Native Tribunal will decide it according to unwritten Native custom. In the Transkei there is an elaborate table of succession, which the magistrate has to interpret in each particular case. As an illustration of the difficulties which he encounters I may cite the following extract from a file in Umtata:—

“Whereas after failing to find an adult descendant of the man under paragraph (a) the table turns to the adult descendant of the deceased registered holder under paragraph (b), it does not, after failure of a minor under paragraph (c) turn to the minor descendant of the deceased registered holder, but to the descendants of the heir's brothers, and not to the brothers themselves.” One is left with the impression that it is better, as well as simpler, to let the elders settle it.

(d) The Transkeian system is dragooned, and the Kikuyu system spontaneous. In the Transkei each married man is allotted an arable plot in a selected block and a standard building site in a quarter devoted to building sites on a ridge or hill side. In Kikuyu a man builds his house where he likes on his own land or where he is permitted on the land of another, subject in both cases to the expert advice of a soothsayer. There is no pressure put on the people either to build in villages or not to build in villages. If a right-holder cared to lay out his holding in residential sites, there would be nothing to prevent it. A rule would not be introduced till a need for it appeared. Similarly no attempt is made to keep the people to a dead level of right-holding, but there are right-holdings and tenancies of all shapes and sizes.

(e) Kenya may claim a certain strategic advan-

tage in the fact that, if anything goes wrong, an indigenous system is responsible and Government cannot be blamed with having introduced an alien form of land tenure unsuited to the people. This is valuable in its way, so long as it does not deter us from making necessary modifications when they are required.

THE OBJECTS OF THE TRANSKEIAN SYSTEM

23. Since we have decided that the Transkeian system is to all intents and purposes an invented system, it becomes relevant to consider with what objects it was invented. It closely follows the Glen Grey Act of 1894. That Act did not, as seems sometimes to be assumed, spring complete from the brain of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. There were some forty-five years of experience to work upon. The first appearance of the quit-rent system for Natives was the Smith-Calderwood location scheme of 1849, when the Fingo of the District of Victoria East were given individual tenure on a quit-rent of £1 per annum. The Kat River settlements date from 1852, and in 1854 individual titles to certain agricultural allotments, with commonage attached, were granted to Hottentots and Coloured people. A similar system was applied to Harmersfontein in 1863, and in 1879 the Natal Locations Act introduced a general permissive tenure on the same lines.

24. We may remark in passing that there were several legal difficulties. In his report on Native Location Surveys, dated 1922, Mr. M. Vos, in a historical survey, remarks of the scheme of 1854: “A special Act of Parliament had to be passed so as to unravel this land muddle.” And of the Harmersfontein settlement he writes: “In this case it entailed no less than three Select Committees and two Acts of Parliament to rectify the grant of freehold title to the Natives.”

But, while all this is useful as a warning, it does not help us to the motive.

25. We may safely assume that individual title was originally introduced for Natives, because, at the time, that mode of tenure was

thought to be best for them. In 1882 Captain Matthew Blyth, Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, reported :—

“ I have strongly urged the Government to grant individual titles to those Fingos who may desire to have them, fixing a certain standard, such as building a proper house, planting trees, enclosing, say, from ten to twenty acres of land, and when these are fulfilled, then the title to be issued. Were this plan adopted, then an immense stimulus would be given to the people, and in a short time the whole of the country would be covered with wheat, homesteads with trees, etc.”

26. The grant of individual title to the Transkeian Natives did not have the results anticipated by Captain Blyth, and the position today, nearly fifty years afterwards, is that hardly any Natives have planted trees, and at least two-thirds of the country is covered with sheep and scrub cattle grazing over an over-stocked commonage. This, however, was not the result of Captain Blyth's recommendation, but rather of the expression which was given to it : the very small arable plot, the very large proportion of commonage, the intense uniformity, and the conception of peasant-proprietors as the sole developing occupiers to the virtual exclusion of tenantry or paid labourers.

27. While Captain Blyth's recommendation was clearly actuated by no other motive than a desire for the agrarian prosperity of the Natives, there was no such singleness of purpose about the Glen Grey Act. The synoptic eye of Mr. Cecil Rhodes envisaged the problem of the Native territories not in isolation but in the relation which it bore to the economic future of South Africa as a whole, and his agrarian views were therefore not untinged by his appreciation of the need of labour for the mines. He aimed at producing a level of bare subsistence in the Native areas, which would necessitate the able-bodied man going out to work for wages in order to procure the amenities which, as they advanced in civilization, they would increasingly desire.

28. The Act followed the earlier legislation in favouring peasant-proprietorship, and since the

production of as much labour power as possible was the over-mastering motive, we must assume that the particular system of peasant-proprietorship which the Glen Grey Act introduced was considered best calculated to produce as great a density of population as would be consistent with physical fitness for the labour field. Each married man was to have one small arable plot and one building plot, and, when all had been accommodated and additional plots had been surveyed to provide for future increase, the remainder of the land was to be kept as commonage. In effect the average arable plot in the Transkei is eight acres and the building plot one acre, and something over two-thirds of all the land has been reserved as commonage. It will be interesting to consider whether this method was really well-adapted to produce the results desired.

29. But there is more than that to consider. Policy has veered round since that date, and, in regard to population especially, the problem is no longer how to produce a dense population on the land, but how to make the land accommodate a population which is already dense enough to cause embarrassment. Nor do I think that the Executive has ever allowed its administration of the agrarian system to be prostituted to the needs of the labour market, and we may take it that, within the limits of the system prescribed it has attempted to get the holdings developed to a point at which something more than a bare subsistence-standard may be attained. In judging the system by results, therefore, we shall have to consider not only its success in attaining the somewhat sordid original objects, but also its success in the more legitimate objects of an agrarian system. The points, which will be considered in order, are :—

- (i) Has this system assured to the peasant-proprietors a subsistence level, as originally intended ?
- (ii) Has it assured to them, or will it be able to assure to them in the future, something more than bare subsistence ?
- (iii) What has been the effect of the system on the population-carrying capacity of the land? Is the distribution of land so designed as to

ensure the maximum of well-being to the population?

THE SUBSISTENCE LEVEL

30. I was fortunate in being able to attend the sitting of the Economic Commission at Umtata in November and in hearing Mr. Welsh, the Chief Native Commissioner of the Transkei, give his evidence. I wrote down the following sentence verbatim: "But for the money they get from the mines, they would be starved—straight away." Later in the proceedings one of the Native witnesses stated that there were times when labour was turned away from the mines. The Chairman stated that such a state of things was a rare occurrence, but he admitted that it did occasionally happen for very brief periods.

31. I looked up the official export figures for the Transkei for 1929, and took them to Mr. Hughes, Director of Agriculture, who kindly worked out the values for me as under:

Wool	£296,722
Mohair	£5,615
Kafir-corn	£2,720
Maize	£53,239
Hides	£44,131
Skins	£39,334
	<hr/>
	£441,761

which gives an export of approximately 8/4d. worth of produce per head of population (population, 1,060,834). I asked Mr. Hughes whether he thought that there were any very considerable exports which did not appear in the returns. He said there were not.

32. For comparison I have taken the returns of "Exports by Railway" from the Agricultural Report of 1929 for the three Kikuyu districts of Nyeri, Fort Hall, and Kiambu, and have worked out the value to the producer on a basis of three-quarters of the export valuation given in the table at the end of the report. The figures are then rendered:—

Maize	£26,160
Maize flour	£46,341
Potatoes	£29,270
Beans and peas	£17,282
Other grain	£1,846
Wattle bark	£17,958
Hides and skins	£8,299

£147,156

or approximately 6/6d. per head of population (population, 453,474). But this figure is for export by railway only and takes no account of the very large export by lorry and head-load to Nairobi, nor of sales direct to neighbouring European farmers, nor of trade with the Masai, and entirely neglects the enormous exports by head-load last year to the famine-stricken areas of Embu and Kitui. Nothing has been put down for bananas, chickens, or eggs, of which very large quantities are sold, and nothing for hides exported from the Kiambu District, which are all sent in by lorry. The total exports are probably more than double the exports by railway.

33. It must be confessed that neither the Transkei nor Kikuyu makes a very encouraging showing on the figures. In the Annual Report for Nyeri District for 1928 I adventured a prophecy that, in spite of more and better cultivation each year, the food-consumption of the increasing population might be expected in about the twelfth year from then to produce a noticeable flattening effect on the curve of export, and ultimately a decline. At present the Kikuyu Native is probably not living very much above the level of bare subsistence, but he is at least well-fed, and he manages to have a considerable surplus for export. Only a minute proportion of the Transkeian exports are foodstuffs, and when one finds that a population of over a million Natives, whose arable lands are planted almost exclusively in grain, can only export grain to the value of £55,959 or one shilling's worth each per annum, one may well credit that they are hard put to it, even to feed themselves. Their exports of wool and mohair, hides and skins, cannot be counted in as helping them to buy food, for they barely suffice to pay

their taxes. In short the figures support the conclusion of the Chief Native Commissioner: "Except for the money they get from the mines, they would be starved—straight away."

CHANCES OF ATTAINING A STANDARD OF LIFE BEYOND THE LEVEL OF BARE EXISTENCE

34. The model farms of Tsolo and Teko and a very energetic Agricultural Department working under the Transkeian Territories General Council (or Bunga) are trying to teach better methods, so that the "lands" will become more productive. The Director of Native Agriculture at Pretoria (Mr. Thornton) is an enthusiast for irrigation. But practically all officers with whom I have spoken regard irrigation as being, at best, a palliative. It is not to be imagined for a moment that, within any period of time which it is reasonable to contemplate, a fraction greater than one-tenth of the "lands" in the Transkei will be irrigated. Naturally the first schemes and the first areas selected are not those where the costs will be greatest. As the schemes are extended, the costs of construction are likely to be greater, and the chances of assistance from Government grants less. The cost of the Tugela scheme in Natal, by which a number of small-holdings were irrigated, was financed partly by Native Trust funds, partly by Government grant, and only as to about one-third by loan. All that is charged by way of rental to the users is the interest and sinking fund on the loan, the rest being free. Even so, some rents are in arrear. Irrigation is an excellent thing, but it is not going to alter the aspect of the general problem.

35. Improvement in agricultural method will do more. Mr. Thornton writes: "The question of the area of land on which a Native family can make a living at the present stage of the development of the Native is undoubtedly a governing factor in the whole matter. . . . The basis I have worked on up to the present . . . is 40 acres. This includes grazing land and applies to areas where we have rainfall of, say, 25-30 inches," which permits of a fair amount of certainty in

crop raising. I have further estimated the land under cultivation on such a holding at this stage to be round about five acres. As the farming becomes more extensive, so will the area cultivated become greater until finally the whole of the cultivated land will be worked and such a thing as common grazing will disappear. This has been the case in the older European countries and must eventually take place here.

36. The concept is clear enough: the married Native can use 40 acres partly under crops and partly as grazing so as to eke out a livelihood for his family according to the standard of to-day. As the standard of civilization goes up, and needs are more, he will be able to meet them by the improved methods which he will have learnt, by taking more land into cultivation and planting stock-food for his cattle. But this method postulates that his holding is compact and he can convert grazing land into arable as required. But so long as he has only his eight acres of arable, he must confine his improvements to that, while his cattle will have to run loose on the common and contribute to the general over-stocking. Mr. Thornton's 40-acre unit further postulates that the owner will be in a position to employ labour or get relations to help him with his work, for his "family of five," which I find to be the usual basis of computation in the Transkei (although 4.5 is the average more generally supported by census returns) would certainly not be able to work forty acres efficiently by its own unaided efforts. It is in effect, therefore, a fresh scheme and does not help us to answer the question whether under the present scheme of one man, one lot of eight acres or thereabouts, and an undistributed share of commonage amounting to perhaps 30 acres, any material betterment is to be expected. I cannot persuade myself that it is.

37. It is just conceivable that, with improved methods of cultivation, a family of five could eke out a livelihood on eight acres sufficient to admit of a slightly better standard of food, housing and clothing than obtains at present, and have enough left over for taxes and education fees. But it would be a struggle, and only the most able-

bodied owners could do it. Under an established scheme of impartible holdings inherited by primogeniture, it will be a very rare thing for a man to get a holding until his father is dead. Even then the usufruct passes at first to the widow, and it is not until she also is dead, that he succeeds to the full inheritance. By that time he himself may be elderly; his sons may be out of work, and his daughters married. He can only get his land worked by the system of ploughing on shares or some similar device and he has to rely for his support on only half the produce, and even that will probably be diminished by payments to other helpers. When a dead-level of poverty exists, where can he look for help? In this deliberately introduced individualism there is no family system to fall back upon, and no family head with seigniorial rights and obligations. He can only invoke new-fangled and dubious co-operative societies and lament that the one indigenous and effective co-operative society in the shape of the family system has been destroyed.

38. To judge by what I have seen in the Transkei the uniform small-holding of eight acres seems to tend towards uniformity of crops. Everybody plants grain-crops, and hardly anywhere is there any trace of planted trees or semi-permanent crops. I suppose that the idea is to make sure of the food supply, but when the grain crops fail through drought, everybody is hit alike. If there were a few big Native farms developed by methods of mixed farming, they might be able to help out the others at such times with food or employment. As it is, the place of the big farm is taken by the mines. But dependence on work at the mines only renders the agrarian situation more complicated. Landless Natives return with money and marry wives and breed a landless class. The petty peasant proprietors of eight acres cannot employ them, and they and their families become mere lodgers in the reserve. In the next generation the sons will have to go to the mines and earn money not only for themselves and their own families, but to support their landless parents as well, a state of things that will surely be reflected in the wage-scale demanded. If, to avert this evil, fresh holdings are opened up

to make room for them, the commonage becomes smaller and the overstocking greater. Erosion will appear with cumulative speed.

39. That there should be landless Natives is not in itself a sign of a bad agrarian system. It is symptomatic of any growing and expanding community. It cannot be expected that every Native should be a landowner, but in a country such as the Transkei or such as Kikuyu, where the only pursuit is agriculture or industries derived from it, there must be an opportunity for every Native either to find employment on the land, whether as owner, or tenant, or labourer, or in some trade or industry connected with the land. If this opportunity is lacking to a considerable proportion of the population, there is something wrong with the agrarian system. To return to the point from which we started, the mines cannot permanently take the place of the big farm.

40. The application of the lesson to Kikuyu is that the large family *githaka* fulfils a very definite function in providing homes and employment for the elderly and unfit, who manage more or less to earn their keep by cutting and carrying firewood or doing odd jobs on the land while their more able-bodied juniors do the heavy work. But in a uniform system of small-holdings, with no large farms to fall back upon, those old folk are unemployable on the land, and, unless they happen to be landowners, have no means of supporting themselves, and would be wholly dependent on what their sons could earn and remit to them out of their wages. The sons, being also under the necessity of earning bride-price, would have to demand a wage which the employer would find it difficult to pay, and in the end a bad agrarian system in the reserve would be an equal embarrassment to the employer of labour outside it.

41. I have touched upon three disabilities of the eight-acre holding. It cannot offer employment to landless Natives; it cannot afford a home to elderly or unfit relatives who are landless; in order to ensure the food supply it tends to produce a uniform planting of food crops and a general lack of variety, so that if the staple crop fails in a

drought, all are hit alike and there are no subsidiary crops to fall back upon. These are not arguments against eight-acre holdings, but against a universalised system of eight-acre holdings, and this uniformity is open to one further criticism that is perhaps the most serious of all: it acts as a check on enterprise and limits the will to improve and expand. "No substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living. . . . Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." (Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928).

42. So much for the eight-acre plots, which occupy about 637 square miles of the Transkei. The total exports from them in 1929 were maize to the value of £53,239 and kafir-corn to the value of £2,720 or two shillings and ninepence worth of produce exported per acre, the remainder being evidently required to feed the cultivators. The 2,759 square miles, or thereabouts, which are developed as commonage, were responsible for exports in wool and mohair, hides and skins, to a total value of £385,802, or four shillings and fourpence per acre. With the constant over-stocking it is difficult to see how there can be anything but an increasing deterioration of the commonage and in the quantity and quality of its exports, unless remedial measures are introduced. The Agricultural Department is doing its best to improve the quality of the stock and to educate the people in better methods of animal husbandry, but it is difficult to see what permanent good can be done so long as the grazing remains common to all. In such conditions it is useless to try persuade a man that he will improve his pasture by reducing the number of his cattle.

43. To sum up the position, I think one may conclude quite confidently that under the present system of one man, one lot of eight acres, and the allocation of two-thirds of the territories as commonage, no considerable or permanent improvement in the standard of living is possible. It might, of course, happen that there is a very temporary improvement owing to the rapidity

with which the Natives are assimilating the teaching of the Agricultural Department, but the number of idle mouths represented by the growing landless class will speedily counteract that, and in general I anticipate an intensification rather than an alleviation of the difficulties of subsistence unless substantial modifications are introduced into the system of land tenure.

POPULATION—CARRYING CAPACITY OF THE LAND

44. Two out of three questions by which it was proposed to appraise the system have now been put and answered. Apart from assistance derived from the mines, it has not assured even a level of bare subsistence, nor does there seem to be any prospect of permanent improvement until substantial changes are introduced. We must now turn to the third question and consider what has been the effect of the system on the population-carrying capacity of the land. Is the distribution of the land so designed as to ensure the maximum of well-being to the population?

45. The answer seems to be fairly clear. When between four-fifths and nine-tenths of the value of the exports are wool and mohair, and when about four-fifths of the land are in perpetual use as grazing commonage, one is, in fact, developing the area predominantly as a sheep and cattle country, and one may expect to carry the density of population which usually goes with such an occupation, that is to say, a very sparse population. In such conditions even so moderate a density of population as 78.8 to the square mile is more than the country can carry. The Natives vie with each other in over-stocking the commonage, and are living, so to speak, on their capital. I find a general admission on all hands, both by officials and Natives, that the common is over-stocked. A check by figures was therefore perhaps unnecessary. Still, I tried it, and arrived at the conclusion that the commonage is approximately 8,158 square miles for the whole of the Transkei, while the returns for 1929 show 1,518,619 cattle, 2,974,707 sheep, and 1,242,494 goats. Since Mr. Hughes informs me that between five and six acres are

required for one cow, these figures support the contention that the commonage is over-stocked. But ocular evidence is more important than figures and it was easy to see that the land was, in fact, very heavily grazed and a certain amount of denudation was beginning to appear. While not nearly so badly over-stocked as Ukamba, it is much worse than Kikuyu. And yet the number of stock per head of population is only 1.4 cattle (including calves), 2.8 sheep, and 1.2 goats, which does not seem a very large allowance.

46. If the land were only suitable to be used as a stock-commonage, there would be nothing for it but to accept the position, and some of the population would have to die out or go elsewhere, till perhaps at the level of about 60 to the square mile an equilibrium would establish itself. But, in fact, the land is, for the most part, capable of much more intensive development, and except for the system which has condemned four-fifths of it to perpetual use as commonage, could be made to support a far larger population. At least half the land which is used as common is fit to be ploughed up and sown with lucerne or other cattle food. While six acres of commonage are required to keep one cow, an acre of lucerne would keep three cows. Figures of that sort cannot, of course, be universalised, but beyond any question the common, if taken into private ownership, and planted in food crops and cattle-food, could not only support far more cattle or sheep than it does now, but also make a considerable contribution to the human food supply. Even so, there would be a margin left over for planting timber. At present, for lack of timber for firewood, many Natives are burning manure, which ought to be used to fertilize the land. And so we get not only deterioration of the common, but of the arable lands as well.

47. Available figures of population are of doubtful accuracy, but broad conclusions may be accepted. In 1879 the population of the Transkei was estimated at 262,705, while in the census of 1921 it is given as 962,814. This is a rapid rate of increase, amounting to more than 3 per cent per annum. But in the ten years from 1921

to 1931 the population only increased to 1,060,834 according to the latest estimate. That is to say that, while for the 42 years before 1921 the population increased at the rate of 3 per cent, the increase since that year is at the rate of 1 per cent per annum, or roughly the same rate of increase as obtained in England during the thirty years before 1911. The inference is that the period of peaceful administration after the prolonged Native wars resulted in a rapid increase in population, until, with considerable suddenness, a check was reached. It is not hard to guess its nature—the failure of enough “lands” to go round and progressive over-stocking of the commonage.

48. It is not possible to say whether an actual decrease of population is to be expected. Returns are not accurate enough to justify any confidence in a margin of 1 per cent over the stagnation point. All that one can conclude with certainty is that the rate of increase has declined sufficiently rapidly to justify apprehension. There are no data for forming any close estimate of the density of population which the land can carry in existing circumstances, and the expression used above, “about 60 to the square mile,” is the merest guess of what might happen if no substantial improvements in agrarian methods are introduced. But there are too many factors affecting the situation for any balance to be struck. Those which would affect it most favourably are, firstly, improvements, in the agrarian system; secondly, advances in the standard of agriculture; and, thirdly, an increased fluidity in the interaction between those who are employed on the land and those who are employed elsewhere. There is great scope for the development of village industries, and in marketing and transport services. But it is not only necessary that younger sons who are landless should be able to find work in such industries, but those who have earned money in them must be able to regain a footing on the land. There must be reciprocity. It should be equally possible for landless men to go to the mines and for returned labourers from the mines to use their earnings to establish themselves in agriculture or in some village industry in the reserve. To the extent to which that position is realized, the

implication which I have made that the mines cannot permanently contribute to the alleviation of the agrarian situation is an over-statement and must be modified.

49. In an earlier section of this chapter I make the point that, while community of rights in respect of the depasturing of cattle is a well-understood Native custom, the territorial demarcation of a common is not Native custom, but a misconception of it. The effects of this misconception have, in my view, been very serious for the Transkei, as the following comparison with Kikuyu will show. In Kikuyu the right of grazing is common on any land which is not cultivated, and yet the whole of the land is "owned" by some right-holder or another. But the rights of the right-holder do not extend to the debarring of cattle from pasturage. Nevertheless by various means he can and does exercise a certain amount of discrimination. In the more congested areas Natives are planting lucerne or sweet potatoes for their stock and the use of ensilage is also beginning to be understood. Consequently the 1,929 square miles of the three districts of Kikuyu proper are able to support a population density of 235 to the square mile without any present sign of congestion or failing food supply, and the exports by railway amount to a value of £76 per square mile, while exports by road, all told, are probably greater than those by railway. The Transkei supports a density of 78.8 at a level at which "but for the money they get from the mines they would be starved—straight away," and its total exports amount to a value of £33 per square mile. The balance in favour of Kikuyu would be still more heavy, if we did not have to reckon in the 200 square miles of practically uninhabited country in Mwea and the 74 square miles of Ndeya grazing area, which, having been recently added to the reserve, have not yet acquired *githaka*-tenure. The density over the remainder of the area is 275 per square mile, while there are some locations where it is very much greater than that.

50. These great differences cannot be wholly or chiefly ascribed to the difference in fertility in the two countries. Mr. Butler, the Agricultural

Officer in charge at Tsolo, informed me that he found it possible to produce ten bags of maize to the acre, and hoped the Native agriculturalist would shortly be able to do the same. He regarded most of the land as fertile. We cannot do much better than that in Kikuyu. If the difference in population were only 50 per cent or something of that kind, it might be ascribed, in default of another explanation, to the difference in fertility of the soil, but not a difference of 200 per cent.

51. Commonage, although the most glaring, is not the only defect in the system. There appear to be to me three other points in it which have an adverse effect on the strength and well-being of the population. They are: (a) The arable plot is too small for a private holding, even for a single household or "family of five," (b) The single household or "family of five" as a unit of development seems to me to be too small; (c) A dead average of uniform holdings is probably less effective for the general well-being than a system which admits of more diversity. The first of these three points may be taken as being admitted, seeing that it was deliberately intended to create peasant-proprietors in a state of economic subservience to the mines. Experience has shown this plan to be bad both for the agrarian system and for the mines. We may pass to the second point.

52. A simple calculation based on the average duration of life and the average age at which Natives marry will show that in a system of inheritance by primogeniture the average age of a peasant-proprietor is round about fifty-five. When he is that age, his daughters are probably married and his sons either married or in employment. The "household of five" is very likely to be a household of two, a middle-aged or elderly man and his wife. The eldest son, who is the heir, is probably married and has a family. If he works for his father on the 8-acre farm, the farm cannot support him and his family and his parents as well, and possibly a widow of the deceased owner, while, if he does not work for his father, the latter is not in a position to engage anyone else to work for him or to support poor relations or

dependants. He will probably arrange for the land to be ploughed "on shares." While there will be Native ploughmen with good teams of oxen who will specialise in work of this kind and make a good profit out of it, the position of the peasant-proprietor and his wife, living on a half-share of the produce of eight acres, will not be enviable.

53. Eight acres cannot accommodate anyone but the owner and his unmarried sons and daughters. Even an eldest son who is married, cannot find room there for himself and his family till his time comes to inherit, but he has to seek work elsewhere. In a dead-level, where all are poverty-stricken farmers on eight acres, there is, generally speaking, no Native who can offer him employment which is sufficient for himself and his family and he must go and get work at the mines. Of course, in any growing community there must always be many landless persons in the sense of not owning land, but in an agricultural country with a good agrarian system there should not be many who are landless in the sense that they can neither find work on the land nor in some village industry dependent on it. But this is precisely the condition to which the Transkeian system is reducing most younger sons, and even elder sons until they are middle-aged, except, of course, in so far as they may all buy cattle and run them on the commonage.

54. The kind of holding which seems most suitable for Natives who are still in the process of emerging from tribalism is one on which there is room for the owner and his sons and unmarried daughters, and, up to a point, his sons' families as well, and also for the elderly dependants who are attached to the family. They keep together and by mutual help manage to keep things going until in due course the eldest son succeeds. They contrive to find work at times for an extra hand or two, and to feed the idle mouths of relations who are past work. If the holding is smaller than this, it is well that it should not be wholly detached from some parent unit, corresponding to a *githaka* or manor. A special problem of the Transkei is that individual holdings have been introduced at a

stage when no unit of group-tenure has yet been evolved. A stage has, so to speak, been skipped. And that, possibly, is an indication that it might have been preferable, if it had been found possible, that the institution of private tenure should first have been tried on some broader basis than the small individual holding. Mr. E. H. H. Edye, whose name I have already mentioned as an officer whom I was advised by the India Office to consult, told me that he was convinced, as a result of experience in the United Provinces, that the unit of land administration should be as large as possible. He was not, of course, speaking of single farms or right-holdings, but of the whole administrative block in which they are united under one headman or overseer and bound together by ties of kinship or association. I asked him whether he recommended it for administrative convenience or because the land is better cultivated in that way. He replied that it was to be recommended for both reasons. There is nothing surprising about this. It is very much the same system which prevailed in mediaeval England and probably in most European countries. The manor was of great value in the co-ordination of agricultural effort, while the manor court dealt with questions of dower and inheritance, and prevented fragmentation and subdivision from becoming acute.

55. While no system of family tenure had developed among the Transkeian Natives, there must, nevertheless, have been a great deal of mutual help and co-operation under the tribal system. The creation of private farms must inevitably tend to weaken the tie. In Kikuyu the results which would follow the break-up of *githaka* would be still more obvious. The very small holding certainly cannot stand alone. If it is cut adrift from the tribal system, it must devise for itself some new kind of protection, either by seeking the shelter of some large estate or enterprise, or by uniting with other small farms in co-operative societies. But it will be found that for the successful working of an agricultural system which depends almost entirely on small-holdings a vast and most complicated organization of co-operative machinery is required, such

as is altogether beyond the reach of the African Native at this stage. The establishment of individual tenure can only be attempted with extreme caution. Care must be taken in the first place that the clash with tribal custom should be as slight as possible, and that the ownership should not be so exclusive as to debar all reciprocity, and in particular that it should be possible for the owner to find relief from congestion. Secondly, against the time when all assistance from tribalism must inevitably be lost, strenuous efforts must be made towards co-operation on the lines of a civilised society. This does not only, or even mainly mean co-operative societies, but the establishment of an economic system in which employment can be found in the handling, marketing, and transport of produce as well as in the growing of it. In Kikuyu I do not suppose that one family is supported by these occupations for every ten supported by agriculture, and the same is probably true of the Transkei. In Denmark, the most intensively agricultural of all European countries, only two-fifths of the population are actually employed in agriculture, the remainder being largely employed in industries derived from it. The choice of employment thus provided naturally relieves any local congestion that may occur in any quarter. In this the highly civilized country is at a great advantage. The soil is not regarded as the only means of livelihood, and co-heirs on an overcrowded farm are willing to allow one of their number to buy the others out. They can go into some trade or profession, or, if they prefer, they can buy land elsewhere. Problems of increasing population are not normally acute because of absolute over-population, but because of over-population in some parts or in some industries, and the real problem lies in securing a fluidity of distribution. Such fluidity is unattainable among African Natives at this stage, whether they be Transkeians or Kikuyu, both because of the undeveloped state of industries and because of the habits and customs of the people. They regard the land as their one ultimate security, and whatever laws Governments may make, consider a share of it to be their birth-right. Consequently any scheme of small hold-

ings means that a choice has to be made between flouting Native custom by a limitation of inheritance, such as the Transkeian expedient of primogeniture, or permitting uneconomic subdivision. The latter problem is rendered worse by the circumstance that grazing, both in the Transkei and in Kikuyu, is a common right and wives are bought with cattle. The number of wives that a man has is not, therefore, conditioned by the size of his agricultural holding, but by the number of his cattle. If he has many cattle and a small agricultural holding, that holding, in default of some limitation of inheritance, will become congested and subdivision will be minute to the point of absurdity. If the Transkeian expedient is adopted and only the eldest son of the senior wife inherits, the rest are landless in a society where agriculture is practically the only industry and no alternative employment is to be had in their reserve. To avoid the two horns of the dilemma it would appear to be advisable for us in Kikuyu, when we find private farms to be necessary, to ensure that their dislocation from the *githaka* system should be gradual and tentative, and that they should, as far as possible, be of a size which will enable them to meet their own problems of subdivision during the generation that must elapse before industries are developed on a sufficient scale to offer any permanent or acceptable alternative to share-ownership of land. The further development of this argument concerns Kikuyu and not the Transkei, and will be left to the next chapter. The subject deserves a much fuller exposition than can possibly be given to it in this paper, but the general conclusion seems to be warranted that very small independent farms are proper to highly developed countries and should only be introduced into undeveloped African countries with extreme caution and by a very gradual process. Whether or not it may be found advisable to limit ownership by the introduction of primogeniture, it appears important, that until the economic structure has reached a point where the prospect of a landless class can be faced with equanimity, a reasonable amount of distribution in respect of usage should not be prevented, and holdings should be of a sufficient

size to admit of occupation by more than a single household.

56. Although I have ventured this opinion on the kind of holding that might be suitable in certain ways, I must disclaim any intention of suggesting that there is any standard unit which could successfully be universalised in a country. It is true that the average economic unit for any country will depend upon its special conditions, and it might be possible to say that such and such an average unit is best for the Transkei or for Kikuyu, or for coffee, or for cotton, or for sheep. I think that for Kikuyu it would be a very good mental exercise to attempt to work it out with the help of the Agricultural Department and the health authorities. There would be many matters for which it would be most useful, as for instance, in attempting to work out a probable curve of future population or production. But it would be a fatal thing to attempt to translate it into action on the land, or to ordain that, because the best average size of farm is, let us say, eighty acres, therefore every farm must be eighty acres. There may perhaps be a maximum and a minimum, above and below which it becomes the duty of the Government to interfere, either to prevent holdings becoming uneconomic through excessive subdivision, or to prevent exploitation by large landlords or the formation of "latifundia." But between those limits the interplay of economic forces is far better calculated to produce the requisite differentiation in the size of holdings than any action which Government can take from an *a priori* standpoint. It seems to me to be fairly clear that in conditions which in general favour peasant-proprietorship there would be a distinct risk of disaster in times of drought, unless there is a certain number of larger farms or enterprises among the people to offer employment or help to those who have lost their all. The large farm or *githaka* is especially valuable to a people which is still in, or has only recently emerged from, a state of tribalism, for it provides it with its natural leaders and protectors.

57. The criticisms which I have, so far, made of the Transkeian system, either implicitly in the

argument or explicitly as definite statements, are :

(a) That it is a static and to some extent an overdragooned system, requiring too much direct action by the magistrate, and leaving too little to evolve spontaneously, and that all this over-regulation must, to some extent, act as a check on individual enterprise. (b) That the system of commonage is wrong and exceedingly wasteful. (c) That the standard arable plot of eight acres is too small. (d) That the conception of a single-household or "family of five" as the only developing occupier of a unit of land is wrong, but that the average unit should be sufficiently large to admit of usage by the occupant family plus dependants, and in some cases labourers and even tenants, but (e) that it is wrong to universalise any standard unit, whether eight acres as in the case of the territories, or any other.

58. The best thing about the Glen Grey Act and its derivatives is that they are constructive. They attempted to create a scheme of land-tenure for Natives, whose own system, so far as they had one, had broken down as a result of two generations of war. Fifty years are too short a time for such a scheme to establish itself fully, and we ought not to judge it as if it had reached its final form. We have no right to assume that its provisions were intended to be final. The principle of one man, one lot was useful for getting a secure tenure established, but there is no reason to suppose that the legislators intended that it should last for ever. Like the law of entail in England it has served its turn as a safeguard, but, because during its period of tutelage a people must be protected from its own improvidence, we are not to suppose that some relaxation of the principle was not envisaged, when the people should be more experienced. A reasonable amount of buying and selling, so that a differentiation in the size of holdings will appear, may very well have been a development which the legislators foresaw. We must credit them with having seen also the ultimate disappearance of the commonage, which they regarded, not as good in itself, but as necessary to the stage of transition from tribal to individual tenure, both to provide a reserve of land which might be demarcated into arable

holdings as the increase of population should require, and also because the people were not yet ready to accept a scheme where all rights should be private and exclusive. Meanwhile, against the time when a further advance should be possible the legislators saw to it that the ground already gained should be made good by the system of primogeniture. The original lots of eight acres, small as they are, have been saved from subdivision and are still intact as units, which can be absorbed into any larger combinations which may be required. If primogeniture had not been introduced, the lots would already have been subdivided to such an extent that they could not be cultivated economically, and sale, even if permitted, would have become very difficult and ultimately impossible because of the multitude of right-holders that would have to be consulted. Similarly, if the principle of one man, one lot, had not been introduced, and it had been permissible for one heir to inherit in more than one place, as, for instance, from a father and a childless uncle, fragmentation would become acute in the next generation and heirs, instead of having their holdings compact, would find themselves with minute fragments all over the place. The wisdom of the legislators in providing these two safeguards to prevent subdivision and fragmentation has fully justified itself, and the next step in advance may be taken, whenever desired, without embarrassment from these causes. I wish we could say the same for the *githaka* system.

59. For, although a comparison of the *githaka* system with the Transkeian system at the present stage of their respective developments shows a substantial margin in favour of the former both in respect of the population which the land supports and in respect of exports, nevertheless the way forward is blocked, and, under a scheme of registration, will increasingly be blocked by subdivision and fragmentation. The Transkeian system is comparatively free to advance in whatever direction may be found desirable, but, unless safeguards are introduced into the *githaka* system to prevent or limit fragmentation, we shall probably find that by the time the people are ready for a more individual form of tenure, it will be

impossible to introduce it without first undertaking complicated and expensive measures for the consolidation of fragmented holdings. The report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India is eloquent on the subject of consolidation schemes, and one is enabled to realize how necessary and how expensive they have become.

60. I am not concerned with what the next step in the Transkei will be. But it is a fascinating speculation: "*Numa primum agros divisit viritim civibus*" (Numa first cut up the commonage into private holdings) and was thereafter called the wisest of the Kings of Rome; but I am inclined to think that some less drastic measure will be better suited to the times in which we live, such for instance, as the progressive paddocking and sub-paddocking of the common until prescriptive rights of families and sub-families grow up as a prelude to full private ownership; and as a sort of corollary to it, an increased freedom to buy and sell arable land until farms of an economic size appear, which, belonging in respect of title and ownership to one man, will in respect of usage support both him and the dependants of his family and, conceivably and on occasion, labourers or tenants. However, that is not my affair and I have already said too much. All that I can legitimately say is that in Ukamba, where an even greater degree of over-stocking exists, I should certainly recommend paddocking as the one means of dealing with it.

61. I have now surveyed, as far as I am able, the principle features of the Transkeian system and I have permitted myself a guess as to its future course. The important consideration which remains is, what lessons we can draw from it, which will guide us towards right action for Kikuyu. I shall not attempt anything in the shape of a tabulation of lessons learnt, for that would be a soulless business and calculated to defeat its own end, but there will be many points at which the Transkeian experience will be reflected in the recommendations which I shall make for rules. Its chief value consists in the study which it affords of the application to Natives of a system of primogeniture. The one really serious diffi-

culty which assails us as a result of our decision to base the Kikuyu land system on Kikuyu Native custom is the danger that, when combined with a system of registration, it will result in uneconomic subdivision and fragmentation of holdings. The particular solution of this problem which has been tried in the Transkei appears to be open to many objections, but that does not mean that no solution can be found or that the Transkeian experiment cannot be very useful to us. While any wide-spread system of individual, independent, impartible small-holdings inherited by primogeniture, would certainly be unsuitable to Kikuyu at the present stage, it is very possible that some extension of the privileges of the senior heir may be the best means of keeping holdings consolidated as economic units, and we have to consider, along with other possible methods of solution, how far and at what point the Native conception that the senior heir inherits a seigniorial or controlling power over the other right-holders would be extended towards the point where he becomes the only right-holder, and a true system of inheritance by primogeniture come into being. There is a risk that, unless one venture some distance along the path, the senior heir will not have the power to prevent the *githaka* from becoming congested and unduly subdivided and fragmented, while, if one ventures too far, there is the opposite danger that a large landless, or at least rightless class will be created. What I have seen in the Transkei has caused some considerable modification in my views as to the rules which will be appropriate to be introduced in the Kikuyu Province to regulate this matter.

Note 1.—I have attempted to deal only, or mainly, with principles. There are several points of detail in the Transkeian system, such as the method of survey, registration, and transfer, which it does not seem to me necessary to discuss at length. I shall allude to them later under their proper headings in so far as they assist us in the formation of rules. In devoting myself exclusively to land-tenure, I have perhaps made insufficient mention of the allied subjects of agriculture and co-operation. I was much

impressed with many things I saw, such, for instance as the almost universal use of ploughs. I have made many notes for future use, and I should like to express my thanks to the officers of the Agricultural Department for all that they have shown me, and to Father Huss of Mariannhill and Mr. T. Kenyon, Chief Clerk of the Transkeian Native Council, for their information concerning co-operative societies. I have already expressed gratitude to the officers of the Administration who were most kind in giving me all possible information. Mr. M. G. Apthorp, Chief Native Commissioner of the Ciskei, and Professor Lestrade were particularly kind in making some criticisms and corrections of notes which I sent to them.

Note 2.—My attention has been drawn to two matters on which my report might be considered misleading, and I add this note by way of correction.

The first point is that I have omitted to mention that "when districts such as Glen Grey were first surveyed, the actual extent occupied was nearly always surveyed and granted to the occupier. It follows that there is a large number of allotments ranging from ten to sixty acres. Some of them in the Transkei have since been subdivided at the request of the owners." I knew that this was the case with Glen Grey, but did not know that the Transkei was affected to any very appreciable extent.

The second point is more important. It is that I have not made sufficient distinction between the seven surveyed districts and the twenty unsurveyed districts, and that, while my criticisms are applicable to the state of affairs in the surveyed districts, they are less applicable to the others. In criticizing the system I naturally selected the areas where it can be studied in its fullest manifestation. It seemed to me that by concentrating on those districts I could best judge the effects of the system. The other twenty districts have been, until recently, regarded as districts awaiting their turn for survey, and an informal survey has been introduced as an interim measure. It now appears doubtful whether the full surveyed system

will ever be applied to them, and magistrates with whom I have spoken, appeared to regard the less rigid system of the unsurveyed districts as the better of the two. It is much nearer to Native custom, and it is not surprising that it should be more successful. There appears to be evidence of a general desire for a closer conformity to Native custom. As Professor Lestrade remarks :

“ These things seem to go in periodic swings, and I should not be surprised if any system you eventually try out in Kikuyu will do the same, however rigid it might be made at the start. Not that I think you will make it rigid, or that you ought to ; but it seems a point worth stating, that any system will evolve in its own way, however much we want to guide and condition it.”

POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE UPPER LUKENYI AREA OF THE CONGO¹

G. BRAUSCH

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is based mainly on material collected on my researches from January 1942 to January 1943 while I was a territorial administrator at Lodja, and also on the various records available in the offices of the territorial administration of this post, the accuracy of which I checked later on in the field.²

The geographical limits of my actual observations were those of the Lodja territory, which is situated in the Lukenyi basin between 23° and 24° east meridian; it stretches north to the Lukenyi—Lomela Divide (2°30' south latitude) and south to the Lubefu river (4° south latitude).

This area is an administrative subdivision of the Sankuru District, which itself is part of the Province of Lusambo, and has a population of about 77,000. It lies in the large central basin, at an altitude of about 500 to 600 metres (1,700 to 2,000 feet). The general aspect is an undulating landscape, diversified by narrow depressions, especially in the north, and conforming to the courses of the Lukenyi's tributaries. The climate is equatorial, i.e. hot and wet; the rainfall is almost perennial, a short drought occurs only in June and July.

The actual Native populations of the Upper Lukenyi area belong to two different migrations:—

The first, which occurred between 1750 and 1890, led to the establishment in this territory of

¹ I wish to thank Dr. H. Kuper of the University of the Witwatersrand and Dr. Max Gluckman, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, for helping me with their suggestions, and also Mrs. K. Theron and Mr. J. F. Schofield for checking my text.

² Among the most trustworthy of the records, which were never published, I should mention: "Etude des populations de la Tshuapa et du Sankuru," by District Commissioner Jensen (1923). "L'institution des Nkumi Okunda de la chefferie des Nambilu," by Territorial Administrator Kodeck (1926). "Etude des populations du territoire des Bahamba," by Territorial Administrator Soors (1935).

several tribes belonging to the Nkutshu a Membele stock, which extends also over the territories of Lomela, Lusambo, Katako Kombe, Kasongo, and Kibombo, occupying an area roughly estimated at 100,000 square kilometres and comprising a population of about 300,000.

These Ankutshu a Membele are related in language and traditions with the Basongo Meno, of the Sankuru Basin, who call themselves (B)-Ankutshu, and the Akela of the Tshuapa basin, who name themselves Bokutu,³ but while the former migrated across the Lomami from the east, the Basongo Meno came from the north-east across the Tshuapa, and the Akela came from the north.

The second migration occurred between 1895 and 1905, and was associated with the European penetration into the Lukenyi basin; it was composed of the auxiliaries who were sent in order to subdue the aboriginal tribes to European rule. In this account I propose to deal with these auxiliaries only where it is necessary to illustrate their influence upon the later social changes which occurred among the aborigines.

The political history of the Ankutshu a Membele of the Upper Lukenyi area may be roughly divided into four periods:

(1) *the patriarchal period*: characterized by a very decentralized patriarchy in which the dominant personality was the patriarch who exercised the functions of high priest of the ancestral cult and landowner;

(2) *the diffusion of the "ekoho"*⁴: which resulted in the establishment of lodges of the leopard society which thereafter took an active part in political life;

(3) *the invasion of the Asambala*: which tended

³ P. Stanislas, C.P.—Kleine nota over de Ankutshu, *AEquatoria*, 1939, no. 10-11, p. 124-130.

⁴ *Ekoho* (leopardskin) is the name given by the Ankutshu a Membele to the political system characterized by the leopard brotherhood.

towards the establishment of the auxiliaries as the dominant class in an autocratic state in which the Ankutshu a Membele would be their vassals ;

(4) *the European rule* : which submitted Nkutshu political organization to a strong process of acculturation.

2. THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD

Very little is known about these far-off days ; from their few surviving traditions we may conclude that before the diffusion of the leopard brotherhood the Ankutshu a Membele had a very primitive economic and social organization. They were associated in kinship groups, each of which had at its head a patriarch, holding this function according to birthright.

But these ideas of kinship groups and birthright must be understood in a very broad sense. We observe that human groups who happen to be neighbours, will on account of the resemblances in their language, their beliefs, and their traditions consider themselves to have had a common origin and will tend to invent genealogies showing their relationship to their common ancestor. By kinship, the Natives do not only understand the relationship of birth, because in their mind persons may be akin who have a spiritual, rather than a natural ancestor in common. If, for instance, several generations ago, by his direct intervention a man succeeded in saving from a common danger one or more unrelated families, then, to express their reverence or gratitude they would give him the title of "father." Several generations later this honorific title would be regarded by them as expressing actual fatherhood, and all will tend to regard him as a common ancestor.⁵

Such facts acquired at the same time for this man a symbolic birthright for himself and his next of kin. As a rule however the proprietor of the soil is considered as the eldest. During our investigations we have observed indeed that the titles of *omampundu* (eldest) and *nkanga nkete* (landowner) are always held by the same man.

The patriarch was assisted in his functions by a

council, consisting of the headmen of the different households.

3. THE DIFFUSION OF THE *EKOHO*

Great changes were brought about in this primitive patriarchal society by the introduction of the leopard brotherhood.

This institution originated somewhere far to the north and was diffused by inter-village, inter-group and inter-tribal contact.

The members of this association bear the name of *nkumi okunda* (lords of the forest) because all the meetings of the association and the ceremonials of initiation are held in a remote place of the forest to which no layman has access, or *nkumi a nkoi* (lords of the leopard) because the skin of every leopard killed, is shared between them according to the rights of each.

Before acquiring full rights in the brotherhood, the candidate must pass through a long series of intermediary degrees, each marked by a payment of chattels to the brotherhood and an occult initiation.

To be accepted as a candidate a man must first prove to be a skilled hunter by killing either a leopard, an eagle, a python, an ant-bear, a scaly anteater, a cranebird, a serval or a civet-cat, whereupon he will pay six arrowheads and one chicken in order to be initiated to the first degree, called *edimu*. For each subsequent degree the payment will be heavier, that for the initiation to the supreme degree being a value of about eight hundred arrowheads and ten chickens.

The different dignities of the brotherhood are not hereditary ; but a man whose father or uncle (paternal as well as maternal) held a degree in this organization, will be ambitious of succeeding him, yet he will have to pass through all the different stages, and to carry out the customary payments. On the other hand a leopard man who wishes his son or nephew to succeed him will make the different payments himself.

The leopard men are grouped in lodges, each characterized by the possession of fetiches (*edimu*) and having at their head a direct descendant of the founder of the lodge.

I have already mentioned that this institution

⁵ These social facts have been mentioned already previously by Jensen and Soors in their papers.

was diffused by inter-village, inter-group and inter-tribal contact. But all the tribes did not react in the same way towards the new organization. In some, with a relatively strong centralized administration, only one man was sent to be initiated, and only one series of fetiches was brought back to be used in the magico-religious rites of initiation into the brotherhood. In other tribes where greater anarchy prevailed, several men went to be initiated and each came back with a series of fetiches, and each initiated in his turn his nearest neighbours. So we see the whole of the Losa tribe belonging to one single lodge, while the much smaller Mange tribe is subdivided into several small lodges, each of which originated from a foreign group.

At the head of each lodge is a kind of chairman; named either *yihu* or *yundundu a nkumi* (eldest of the leopard men)⁶ who will generally be a descendant of the founder of the lodge, because contrary to the ordinary dignity of leopard man, that of leopard chief is hereditary. A tribesman may inherit this dignity either from his brother, father, or uncle (paternal as well as maternal) on the condition of performing the customary payments for this honorary degree, and so acquire the fetiches of the lodge. It must be mentioned that the fetiches are not kept by the leopard chief himself, but by his first wife (*wadi otangu*), which makes it a primary condition for a leopard chief to be married, otherwise the function will be transmitted to the next candidate.

The principal aim of this institution was to react against the weakness of the patriarchal system, and subsequently the settlement of palavers between members of the same or of different groups, a privilege which belonged exclusively to the patriarchs assisted by the council of headmen, with whom the diffusion of the new leopard society brought about a clash..

The patriarchs, who were generally at the same time landowners, did not agree to being

⁶ For easier understanding I will use further on in this text the following terminology: *Leopard society*: for brotherhood of the leopardskin, *leopard man*: for *nkumi* or member of the leopard brotherhood, *leopard chief*: for *yundundu a nkumi* or lodgehead of the leopard brotherhood. This terminology was suggested to me by Dr. Max Gluckman.

replaced by the founders of the new institution. On the other hand their functions of intermediary between the living and the spirits of the ancestors, as well as the occult powers of the soil, made them sacred persons who accepted as their due the esteem and the veneration of their community; their spiritual ascendancy was such that the new "lords of the forest" had necessarily to take them in consideration.

Here again we notice different reactions from tribe to tribe. Among many of the northern Ankutshu a Membele (named *Ahamba*) the leopardskin became the insignia of the patriarch, while the leopard society had to be satisfied with the skins of the smaller felines. Among others, the refusal of the patriarch to accept the new organization, led to his being neglected by public opinion. Generally, however, an agreement was made between the two systems, the patriarch agreeing to be initiated into the brotherhood of the leopardskin, provided that he distributed gifts among its members. Sometimes even it was the patriarch himself who went to be initiated and who introduced the fetiches and the skin into his group, and thus amalgamated his ancestral functions with those of leopard chief. (Losa).

In all these cases we see the replacement of the council of headmen by the new council of the leopard men, for all matters of political interest.

At the end of the nineteenth century this culture contact from the north had developed into a political system comprising three important elements:

- (1) *the patriarch*: considered as the rightful heir of the knowledge of the ancestors, and consequently the guide of the community;
- (2) *the leopard chief*: who is at the same time the assistant and the chief councillor of the patriarch. As an assistant he watches over the execution of the patriarch's orders; as his chief councillor he communicates to him the opinions expressed in the council of the leopard men;
- (3) *the leopard society*: who are the representatives of public opinion.

Although there are no limits of age for the accession to a political dignity, the modes of accession result in the elimination of the younger.

Indeed, before a junior can succeed to the dignity of patriarch the senior generation must have disappeared;⁷ while, the importance of the gifts required for the initiation fees in the brotherhood of the leopardskin entails that many years elapse before a man rises to the supreme degree.

So we see that, practically, the political organization of the Ankutshu a Membele of the Upper Lukenyi area was a gerontocracy, in the sense of a generalized dominance of the aged.

4. THE INVASION OF THE ASAMBALA : (1895-1912)

The leopard society did not diffuse beyond the sources of the Tshuapa, Lola and Lukenyi rivers, nor beyond the Lubefu river, because the remaining Ankutshu a Membele of the Lomami and Lualaba areas had adopted different traits from the political organization of the Luba and Songe, who were their next neighbours. This resulted in the division of their society into two groups of clans: the *eotema a nkoi* (leopardheart) or regnant clan and the *dikila dia mbudi* (goat-blood) or vassal clans, which we still find among the Mondja, Nkoi, and Yenge of the Lubefu area, and in the Tetela sector of the territory of Lusambo.

Then came the thrust of the Arabian slave-traders which reached the Lualaba about 1860 and after crossing this river stretched out to the Lomami. The Ankutshu a Membele of this area were all subjugated to their rule.

Among these subdued Ankutshu a Membele a man named Ngongo Lutete joined the Arabs and succeeded in raising an armed band which in alliance with the conquerors, participated in attacks on the first European pioneers between 1870 and 1886. But after having been defeated by the forces of the Congo Free State, he came to terms with the latter and joined the Europeans in their fight for the liberation of Africa from slavery and many of his subjects enlisted in the police force of the Congo Free State. At the completion of their service they were sent to prepare the

independent tribes for the advent of the European administration.

One of them was called Kandolo, who with 57 other ex-soldiers (33 Tetela and 24 Luba) was charged with the opening up of the Upper Lukenyi area.

These auxiliaries, called Asambala (invaders) by the aborigines, had been for about twenty or thirty years under the influence of an Arabised culture and had adopted many of their culture traits which they tried to introduce amongst the newly conquered tribes.

Their procedure of occupation was always the same: they conquered, either by fighting, or peacefully, village by village. In each group they left one of their men as a sentry and as a superintendent to collect the taxes in rubber required by the Congo Free State. Those who opposed the new rule were made prisoners and sent as slaves to Kandolo's headquarters, where they were kept as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of their fellow tribesmen.

Once again the different tribes reacted differently to the invaders: some opposed vigorously, but most submitted rapidly after having fled for a short time to the forest fastnesses, or after a short skirmish, since their primitive weapons were unequally matched with the European-made guns of the Asambala.

Generally they ended by sending a plenipotentiary to the conquerors to announce their submission. This plenipotentiary was in no case the patriarch, nor the leopard chief, but a commoner in the prime of life, acting as a representative of his group. But owing to his relations with the Asambala, this man would end by playing an important role in the Native society. It was he indeed who was charged with the supervision of the rubber gathering of his group, and who would not only bring this rubber to Kandolo's headquarters, but very often even accompany the caravan to Lusambo, the residence of the District Commissioner; he also was in a position to solicit the conquerors for his tribesmen, especially the release of those who had been taken off as slaves.

In 1902, when the European administration was established at Ndeko, these representatives,

⁷ According to the rules of birthright, brother succeeds brother, then the eldest son of eldest brother, and so on through his brothers.

named *capita*,⁸ were introduced by Kandolo to the official in charge, and received in this way an official sanction for their functions as intermediary between the Native group on the one hand and the Asambala and the European administration on the other.

Furthermore, the real Native authorities (patriarch and leopard chief) who represented the conservative tendency of the Native society encouraged this situation by remaining in the background, and did not introduce themselves either to the Asambala, or to the Europeans as the sole customary leaders of the Native groups.

They went even so far as to give him a legal status in the Native society. Indeed, the *capita* was chosen by the other Native customary dignitaries (patriarch, leopard chief and leopard men) among the commoners and to be recognized as such he had to offer gifts to them.

As a rule a *capita* was not a leopard man; and the day that he wished to acquire a degree in the brotherhood of the leopardskin, he abandoned his function of *capita* to his brother, his son or other near kin.

In short, in the mind of the Ankutshu a Membele, the *capita* became a dignitary concerned especially with their foreign relations, but who notwithstanding this, remained subsidiary to the patriarch.

In the mind of the Asambala, however, this *capita* became the real leader of that subjugated group, because their aim was conquest and the resulting formation of vassal clans on the Songe-Luba model, in an autocratic state of which Kandolo intended to be the chief.

But this organization was nipped in the bud by the arrival in 1902 of the European officials in this area and the definite emancipation of the Ankutshu a Membele in 1912, so that their political system was only developed in embryo.

⁸ *Capita* is a word of Portuguese origin, meaning head-man or supervisor, and was used in the pioneer days to designate the native chiefs of the commercial caravans, sent by the traders to the independent tribes for the selling of European-made goods and the buying of Native products. Still now the Native trades agents are called *capita de commerce* (trade-capita). These trade-capita were probably the first intermediaries between Natives of the independent tribes and Europeans.

It is rather in the social life of the aborigines that the Asambala left a deep impression, which is still present.

The Asambala in their contacts with the Arabian slave-traders had adopted the custom of polygyny with the pathological consequence of venereal diseases common to the Arabian harems, and which was thus transmitted in turn to the Ankutshu.

Moreover, when the Asambala arrived, most of them were unmarried, so they constituted their traditional harems from among the women of the tribes they subjugated. Consequently the conquest of the Upper Lukenyi area was characterized by the capture of women of the subdued villages, and afterwards the invaders continued to require women against the payment of bride wealth. In both cases little importance was attached to the preliminary steps and the ceremonies of the marriage (*diwala*), as well as to the consent of the bride which in the mind of the Ankutshu a Membele represented the most important elements of the conclusion of the union, of which the bride wealth was only a warrant to secure the stability.

Thus it was the Asambala with their wealth who made of the payment of the bride wealth the most important feature of the marriage, and progressively increased its amount. More and more marriage came to be considered as a mercantile transaction of which the woman was the object, and her price would differ according to the economic law of supply and demand.⁹ The *akilo* (pl. from *okilo*=father-in-law), who were the principal beneficiaries from these culture changes accelerated the movement by requiring higher and higher prices for their daughters, and some chiefs even went to an amount of frs. 3,000, when the old dowry rarely exceeded a value of frs. 300.

But very soon the Native community began to feel the consequences of the new conditions. Many young women, taken off to the Asambala villages were definitely lost to the Ankutshu; on the other hand many of their patriarchs and

⁹ P. Rudolf, C.P.—“Het oorspronkelijk huwelijksverdrag bij de Ngandu.” *AEquatoria*, 1940, no. 4, p. 97-102.

notables imitated the conquerors, and polygyny wormed its way into the society. The younger and poorer men of the tribe could not find any brides, the number of single men increased and these sought sexual intercourse with the wives of polygynists or with girls under the age of puberty.

This situation created a latent conflict between the wealthier and poorer classes of the Nkutshu society; palavers were continually arising about adultery committed by an unmarried commoner with a wife of a polygynist, and each time the commoner was condemned to the payment of damages to the betrayed husband.

The resentment of the poorer classes towards the wealthier grew sharper as they saw the polygynists becoming a leisure class only interested in politics and palavers, while the industrial occupations were left to their wives or to enslaved debtors.

As I will show in the next section, this cleavage grew to be of more and more importance under European rule, which is carried out among the Natives through the customary authorities (patriarchs and leopard society), who thus have constituted themselves into a leisure class.

5. EUROPEAN RULE: 1912-1943

After the emancipation of the Ankutshu a Membele from the despotic Asambala rule in 1912, the European administration adopted a more humane attitude towards the aborigines, but their relations with the Natives were carried on through the agency of the *capita* and when the organization of chieftainships on the basis of the ancient tribes was commenced, it was again this representative who was chosen for the investiture.

But progressively these *capita* supported by the Administration took a position of greater and greater ascendancy in the Native groups to the great regret of the patriarchs and the leopard men who realized that they were in the way to lose their pre-eminence, and that if they wished to maintain their customary prerogatives they had either to collaborate with the Europeans or try to turn them out.

At that time, (1917-1918) in the north-west of the territory of Kole, a war medicine, named

loambo, was invented, which was credited with the power of creating darkness before the eyes of any European who penetrated into the country beyond the spot where it had been placed, and also to render their guns powerless. This medicine was passed from village to village by the members of a secret sect called Inkunia, and was thus spread in all directions. The trait was adopted by the Dengese, the Mbole, the Akela, the Basongo Meno, and the Membele of the Upper Lukenyi, that is, over an area which had about two hundred thousand inhabitants all of whom called themselves by the generic name of Ankutshu.

At the same time an epidemic of influenza broke out among the Natives and caused numerous deaths. The diviners claimed that the Europeans had propagated this disease by means of currency and the identity booklets, and that to oppose it they ought to join the Inkunia sect and obey its rules, which required the new initiates to swear never to pay the tax required by the administration, to burn their identity papers, and to refuse to accept European currency.

In December 1919 the revolution broke out in the north-west of the territory of Kole where the *loambo* medicine had been invented, and all the tribes who had adopted it were stirred up to revolt.

After the repression of the revolt the Ankutshu a Membele made up their minds that the Europeans were the stronger and that they had no option but to collaborate with them. One by one the patriarchs claimed their rights, and the leopard men laid bare the secrets of their organization, and thus aided the European administration in the policy of distributing the Native population in administrative units which fitted as far as possible within the outlines of the customary groups, and which were ruled by the traditional patriarchs.

Though maintaining his traditional function the patriarch became at the same time an administrative agent charged with transmitting to his group the requirements of the European Native administration, such as conscription, taxes, civil requisitions (especially of porters for government

officers), tribal public works, administrative public works, hygiene, etc.

The patriarch was given the very difficult task of adjusting these provisions to the interests of those under his authority: if he were too strong a supporter of the European administration he would risk unpopularity among his tribesmen and so lose all his authority; if on the other hand he shared too much in the intrigues of his subjects he would be disregarded by the European authorities and held responsible for the inactivity of the group he ruled.

But in his functions of agent of the executive power the paramount chief is aided by the local headmen and leopard men, who, meeting him in his council, will assist him in deciding the measures to adopt to satisfy not only the public opinion of his tribesmen, but also the requirements of the European officials.

Once these measures have been adopted they will be put into execution by the *capita*, whose services are thus retained in the Native political organization as superintendents.

This system of Native administration has given very satisfactory results in the Upper Lukenyi area, because it does not abruptly force the Natives to break with their ancient manners and tendencies, but strives patiently to develop the Native civilization on its own ground.

Even the best systems have their faults, and here we find that there is some petty corruption, but the government officials are watchful that it does not develop into serious abuses.

So it was observed that, because the Natives brought their cases before European officials, missionaries, traders, planters, etc., who settled them by common sense, the standard of customary jurisdiction was declining to such an extent that it no longer offered guarantees of honesty. Therefore the Administration decided to give them official status under the control of the government officials in order to give their trials the essential guarantees of justice, and respect of the rules of public order. They made them responsible for dealing with the lawsuits of which they formerly took cognizance, in pursuance of custom,

and their sentences were enforced by the European authority.¹⁰

But as the result of the official recognition of the customary courts, different elements were introduced into the Native procedure which were foreign to it.

The most important innovation was certainly the introduction of a clerk of the court, who would enter in the court register a report of the hearing and the decision in each case, and also receive the different court-dues (registration fee, costs of lawsuit, proportioned fee) and fines.

The effect of the introduction of this new personality into the Native courts, was to make them part of the administrative bureaucracy in a manner which the common Native and even most of the Native judges do not understand, and which thus tends to separate the new form of this institution from the people. The fact that the clerk of the court is an educated Native, while most of the chiefs and judges are not, tends to make of the former the dominant person in the court who will very often advise it on the legal procedure.

Nevertheless this new institution was made to correspond as much as possible with the members and the procedure of the old customary courts.

The judges of the new officially recognized tribal courts were chosen from the bench of customary judges available in the Native communities, according to the preferences of the latter.

The fees were also conformed to ancient dues.

The fowl which the plaintiff gave to the judges to institute proceedings, has been replaced by a registration fee; and the *nkoko wa nsambo*, a fowl offered by the winning party to the judges, corresponds to our present "proportioned fee."

The different fees are received by the clerk of the court, but are not retained by the Native treasury. They are returned to the judges at each three monthly audit.

The fines however remain the entire property of the treasury, as otherwise the judges might inflict too high fines with the sole aim of increasing their remunerations. Yet we were told that even in the old customary courts these fines were not

¹⁰ J. Magotte.—*Les Juridictions Indigènes*. Imprimerie Disonaise, Dison-Verviers. 1938.

handed to the judges, for they were paid in goats, which were killed ritually and eaten by the whole community during the magico-religious rites of purification necessary to ward off the evil influences that the infraction of the law might bring upon the kinship group of the offender.

Completely new institutions were those of hard labour and the whip, for in Nkutshu law even the criminal offences were punished by fines, never by hard labour.

A kind of imprisonment was applied to refractory debtors, who were condemned to the *luwetu* i.e. an apparatus made up by two pieces of wood joined by strong pins, and between which there was an opening through which the leg was passed. The condemned person was thus hardly able to move and was only released when he had paid the fines, indemnities, or fees which he owed. In the modern practice this punishment has been replaced by imprisonment.

The Nkutshu system of land tenure has also been influenced by the new European order. Different tribes or portions of tribes have been moved to the roads, because it was thus easier to maintain these ways, and to keep a closer administrative and medical contact with the people. But each of these moves provoked deep perturbations in the organization of the groups they affected, because they have resulted in a real distraint by the moving group upon a part or the whole of the territory of the group on whose lands they have been established. The customary tenants lost at a blow all the rights they held over their territory and could no longer receive the tithes on the products of gathering, culture, hunting, and fishing from their domains; and it was not only they themselves who lost their rights, but also the members of their family, who through the law of solidarity which linked them with the tenant, were allowed tacitly or explicitly to exploit gratuitously the wealth of the domain.

Notwithstanding these changes, the title of *nkanga nkete* (land-owner) remained, but rather theoretically, because he had not the power to exercise his prerogatives on estates which were not his, or which had not been handed over to him after ritual payment, or with ritual ceremonies.

In the case of the Mvungi tribe we observed in 1942, that more than ten years after such a move, still one-tenth of the population, represented by the landowners and their next of kin, had not left their old locations, and refused persistently to establish themselves along the road.

European intervention not only changed the existing tribal institutions, but also created new Native institutions, such as the Native treasuries, with their own expenditures and their own revenues.

These Native treasuries are the foundations upon which the independence of the Native tribes will be built up stone by stone, for the financial independence is the starting point for their complete political independence.

For the moment however these Native treasuries are managed by the territorial administrators, because as I mentioned before, in the description of the new juridical organization, the common Native as well as most of the notables and chiefs are uneducated and understand little of the administrative bureaucracy which such an institution involves. Each year the territorial administrator introduces for each of the Native areas of his territory a budget for the coming year and a financial statement for the past year, which are approved by the Native council of the area. Of course these uneducated councillors always approve with many nods these accounts as well as the clever explanations given by the official.

In neighbouring territories however some educated notables are beginning to understand the object of these Native treasuries and are very willing to make proposals which sometimes prove to be very appropriate.

Native life was not only affected through the changes which occurred in their institutions or by the creation of new institutions, but also directly by such European institutions as the census, obligatory crops, conscription, civil requisitions, etc.

It can hardly be said that these institutions are popular among the Ankutshu a Membele, but they are taken philosophically as a natural consequence of European rule.

The legislation has established two taxes; the

poll tax which has to be discharged by each adult able-bodied male, and the plural wives' tax on the polygynists, payable for every wife in excess of one, which thus introduces a graduated form of taxation on wealth. This plural wives' tax in Belgian Congo is on a much higher scale than in certain British territories.¹¹ While in Tanganyika Territory the proportion between these two taxes is as 9 is to 2, it is in the Belgian Congo as 5 is to 4, which means that if in both territories the poll tax were fixed at 45, then a Native in the former would have to pay a plural wives' tax of 10, and a Native of the latter 36. The aim is to strangle polygyny, but several other facts and especially the growing economic wealth of the Natives, oppose the realization of this aim.

Economic wealth increased, especially among the populations of the Upper Lukenyi area, from the sale of the annual crops of groundnuts, rice, and especially cotton, which was introduced as an obligatory crop some fifteen years ago.

But here again the great beneficiaries of this growing wealth are the polygynists, the leisured class, for their numerous wives each cultivate their own gardens, of which all the crops will be sold at the sole benefit of their common husband.

Although these polygynists by legislation are submitted to all the demands for public works in the same degree as the commoners, a stipulation in the law permits them to free themselves very easily from these obligations. It is the system of "rachats de corvées" by which a man may be exempted from determined tribal tasks on the condition of paying into the Native treasury an amount corresponding to the wages of a substitute for the required number of days imposed by the task.

But these polygynists generally pay not only for themselves, but also for their sons, with the result that only the poorer classes and their nearest kin remain for the execution of the tasks.

Another fact, about which the monogamists, and still more the unmarried men complain, is

that the uniform area of obligatory crops (cotton, cassava) imposed on all the adult able-bodied males weighs more heavily upon them than upon the polygynists who have several wives for the execution of the work.

These facts added to those I mentioned in the former section accentuate the contrast between the wealthy leisure class—constituted primarily by the patriarchs and leopard men—and the poorer industrial classes.

Many of the latter show their dissatisfaction by enrolling as wage-earners in the commercial companies or plantations at Lodja, the cotton company at Tumba, in the Inéac (Institute of agricultural research) at Mukumari or Omendhadi, or even at the mines.

In olden days such dissatisfaction was rather manifested by the break-off of the dissatisfied members and the nearest kin from the kinship group, after which they would then continue their migrations alone or join another group.

Lastly I must mention the contact with the new religious beliefs which tend to abolish ancestor-worship, of which the patriarch is the officiating priest. As a result we observe that generally the converts belong to the less favoured elements of the society, while the more wealthy and socially higher standing Natives as patriarchs and leopard men, show themselves less susceptible to Christianity.

In short, culture contacts between Ankutshu and Whites resulted in a new social system being evolved which was characterized by large scale relationships between the two culture groups.

CONCLUSION :

The present picture of the culture changes which occurred among the Ankutshu a Membele of the Upper Lukenyi area during this last century shows that in all times the Nkutshu society has been a permanently changing system.

We see that deep changes have already been brought about by contact with cultures presenting a high degree of similarity with the Nkutshu culture, as when we traced the diffusion of the brotherhood of the leopardskin.

¹¹ G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt.—*Anthropology in Action*. Oxford University Press. 1935.

The latest contacts occurred with a culture differing completely from it in origin and aspect, for White culture and Nkutshu culture are each a result of a long evolution in fundamentally different environments.

Notwithstanding a contact of about twenty years with a despotic Asambala rule, and another thirty years with the vastly higher standards of European culture, the various Nkutshu institutions have reacted fairly well to the new conditions and tend to survive everywhere, though "they take new forms and develop new social values to

accord with the new system of which they are now a part."¹²

If most of the fundamental customs of the Ankutshu have maintained themselves, culture contact has resulted nevertheless in the absorption by them of several customs of other groups which now exist side by side with their former customs.

So, contact with White culture not only demonstrated the extreme vitality of this population, but has also enriched its culture pattern.

¹² Max Gluckman. *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*. 1941. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

THE DRUM LANGUAGE OF THE LOKELE TRIBE

JOHN F. CARRINGTON

The use of a two-toned wooden slit-drum to send messages from one village to another or to broadcast news within the precincts of a single village is common to many tribes of the Congo basin and is also found in other parts of Tropical Africa. In a few cases the nature of the "signals" used to convey the messages on the drum and the relation between these drum "signals" and the spoken language of the tribe have been worked out in detail.^{1 2 3 4 5} It is the purpose of the present study to describe the nature of the messages and the relation between drummed and spoken language in the case of (lo)Kele.

The Lokele tribe lives on the banks of the Congo between the mouths of the Lindi and the Lomami; some villages extend up the Lomani river for a considerable distance.^{6 7} While some of the tribal customs are admittedly of foreign origin (e.g., wrestling and the Secret Society rites known as *libeli*) the drum used for sending messages is believed to be a part of tribal life whose origin is bound up with the beginnings of the tribe itself. The writer has been unable to discover any legends relating to the coming of the drum into Native life.

The drum used. The Lokele talking drum (*boungu* or *bongungu*) is a wooden slit-drum made from the red heart-wood of the *wele* tree.⁸ This wood is used exclusively in present-day drum manufacture although probably another wood, namely the *bolondo*⁹ was formerly used because the name of the talking drum in the drum language is *bokoko wa olondo*, i.e. a log of the

bolondo tree. Some surrounding tribes (e.g. the BaManga to the North) still use *bolondo* in drum-making.

Most of the drums in use in Lokele villages today have been made by a group of men forming one section (Yakomi) of the village of Yafolo. Drum-making has been practised by this family group for as long as memory can recall. Villages or individuals wishing to acquire a drum have in some cases provided the section of *wele* trunk and have then called in a Yafolo man to fashion the drum from the wood provided.

There are no special rites connected with present-day drum-making. A log is ready for use when it has lain on the forest floor for a sufficiently long time to allow the rotten yellowish sapwood to be removed from the hard red heartwood. The drum-maker first chisels out a narrow longitudinal slit in the length of the cylindrical log. This slit is deepened until it penetrates about half-way into the log. The interior of the drum is then hollowed on both sides of the primary slit. The work is done by an adze, *fali*, sometimes assisted by a curved axe-blade, *fondo*. The wooden chips produced are removed via the primary slit unless an accident to the end-wall of the drum leads to this becoming perforated and thus allowing of the removal of the chips through the hole so formed. In such cases the hole at the end is closed later by a circular bung. The hollowing on the two sides of the primary slit is differential, one side becoming thinner-walled and hollower than the other. The hollower side when struck near the slit gives out a lower note than the other side. These two notes are distinguished as *limiki lia otolome* (voice of the male) and *limiki lia otomali* (voice of the female) for the high and low notes respectively. That the differentiation in pitch is really due to the differential hollowing beneath the two lips of the slit rather than to a difference in the thickness of the lips themselves (as claimed by some writers for other types of slit-

¹ Van Goethem: *Congo* 1927II, 1928I for Nkundo.

² Hulstaert: *Anthropos* 1935, also for Nkundo.

³ Verbeke: *Congo* 1920, for Luba.

⁴ Burssens: Proc. 3rd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Ghent 1938. For Luba.

⁵ Clarke: *American Journal of Sociology*. 1934. For Tumba.

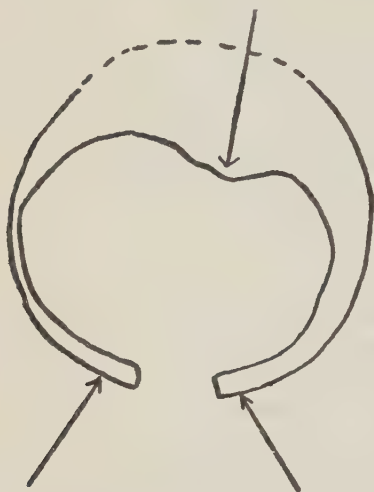
⁶ Maes and Boone: *Les Peuplades du Congo Belge*. Bruxelles 1935.

⁷ Carrington: *African Studies*.

⁸ Probably *Pterocarpus Soyauxii* Taub.

⁹ *Chlorophora excelsa* Benth.

drum) has been shown by repeated careful measurements of the interior of Lokele drums. (see below). Many Yafolo drums have a ridge of wood immediately below the slit separating the two hollowed sides of the drum. This ridge is called the back-bone (*bokinini*) of the drum.



Scale : $\frac{1}{2}$.
Frequency of low note : 300.
Frequency of high note : 387.

Drum-size varies from an over-all volume of 1.24 m.³¹⁰ to a volume of 0.3m.³ The price of the finished drum depends on its size and carrying power and varies from 1,000 francs¹¹ for the largest drums to 30 francs for a small drum useful for transmitting messages within the village and its immediate neighbourhood. Table I gives dimensions and prices of some Yakusu village drums.

Lokele village drums are usually placed in a thatched hangar or club-house (*ngwaka*) built on the edge of the river-bank. The large drums are almost invariably arranged so that the long axis of the drum is perpendicular to the river bank with the male-voice side of the drum down-river. It is said that sound carries better over the river with this arrangement. Smaller drums housed in the *ngwaka* are not necessarily arranged in this way and drums belonging to private individuals are often sheltered on the verandahs of the owners,

¹⁰ In the case of the largest drum in Yaokanja, namely that at Yalufi.

¹¹ £5/10/- at present rate of exchange.

houses. Today, however, in many villages the drums are no longer sheltered but left exposed to the weather. Occasionally a small leaf roof is placed over the slit of the drum and overhangs the sides but often even that amount of protection is not found. This lack of care of the signalling-drums is one indication of the decline of drum-signalling in the tribe as a result of contacts with Arabic and European civilisation (see page 87). The relatively short life-period of some of the Yakusu drums mentioned in Table I is due to the complete lack of drum-shelters in Yakusu villages. In Lokele villages where the drums are well protected a life period of twenty years is common.¹²

Each of the two drum-sticks (*bakole*, sing. *likole*) consists of a short length of the branch of the *bokofe* tree.¹³ The tip of the drum-stick is bound with rubber and this latter is frequently kept in position and strengthened by an exterior layer of cane-work. A second pattern of stick-tip occurs however, in which there is no external cane-work and the rubber covers the whole tip of the stick.

The usual position taken up by the drummer is to stand behind the male (high-toned) lip with the female lip further away. It is considered to be a discriminating test of drumming proficiency to be able to beat the drum from the female side with the high-toned lip further away.

In at least one surrounding tribe there is a definite hierarchy of authority in the use of the drum. But at the present time any Lokele man proficient in drumming is allowed to beat out messages. Women understand the drum language but do not usually beat the drum. I have been told that if a woman were allowed to beat the drum she would have to use one stick only.

In popular travel books relating to Africa much has been written about the large areas over which drum messages can travel in a short space of time.¹⁴

¹² The oldest drum in the Lokele area is at Yafolo and still has an excellent tone. It was probably made in 1905 although dates as long ago as this are often difficult to check accurately in Central African communities.

¹³ Species undetermined. The same tree is used for paddles.

¹⁴ cf. Goodwin. "Communication has been established." London 1937, page 233. "The drum language of West Africa has been built up by careless journalism into one of the wonders of the world."

The maximum distance known to the writer over which Yakusu drums can be heard is 20 km. and messages sent for such distances are not often heard. This case refers to the audibility of the Yakusu drums to WaGenya fishermen in mid-stream at Stanleyville. Messages can, of course, be relayed from one village to another and then can travel over much greater distances than that in which a single drum is audible. This relaying of messages is however limited by :

- (1) The varying drum languages of the different tribes inhabiting the area. In boundary villages there must be at least one man who is bilingual on the drum for each tribe has its

own drum-language, as a rule.

- (2) The lack of interest in any but the more important messages which concern other districts.¹⁶

Morning and evening are the times most favoured for drum-message transmission. With the help of a team of Yakusu school-boys the details of message-times shown in Table II were obtained over a period of one month.

Uses of the "signalling" drum. The primary use of the two-toned slit drum is that of message transmission. Other subsidiary uses are common however, most of which depend on the message-transmitting property of the drum. Thus :

TABLE I. Some *Yakusu* drums.

Village Group	date of making	length of drum : cm.	vertical diameter cm.	horizontal diameter cm.	length slit cm.	width slit cm.	price in francs
<i>Yalikenja</i>	?	174	86	86	137	12	800
<i>Yalianga</i>	?	160	70	69	134	11	?
<i>Yalowama</i>	1941	191	78	79	150	10	700
<i>Yawekele</i>	1942	167	61	66	136	10	400
<i>Yaokenge</i>	1937	220	77	84	182	13	?
<i>Yaokanda</i>	1933	206	73	76	167	11	350
<i>Yalilemo</i>	1928	169	70	70	133	11	900
<i>Yaliombo</i>	1918 ?	174	72	76	143	12	?
<i>Yaokwa</i>	1941	133	40	44	104	9½	60

¹⁶ The determined resistance by Lokele tribesmen to Stanley's passage down-river in 1877 was doubtless organised by relayed messages.

TABLE II. Distribution of drum messages during the day. Numbers of messages drummed over a period of one month in some Yakusu sections.

Section of village	5 a.m.-8 a.m.	8 a.m.-11 a.m.	11 a.m.-2 p.m.	2 p.m.-5 p.m.	5 p.m.-8 p.m.	8 p.m.-11 p.m.	11 p.m.-2 a.m.	2 a.m.-5 a.m.
<i>Yaokanda</i> (chief's section)	14	1	5	4	5	2	0	0
<i>Yakienge</i>	2	1	3	0	2	0	0	0
<i>Yaokenge</i>	4	1	2	3	2	0	0	0
<i>Yalilemo</i>	6	2	1	4	5	0	0	0
<i>Yatumbo</i>	5	10	3	12	6	3	0	0
Total	31	15	14	23	20	5	0	0

(a) The drum is often used to stimulate communal work. When a team of Yakusu villagers recently erected a small bridge, working under State supervision, a drummer was in constant attendance. The drum beats were for the most part rhythmic repetitions of:

kbei kele ki ke ke. i.e. . . . where ' is high note and ' is low. These signals have no apparent language basis, but from time to time the drummer beat out an order such as:

yatikeke botimbikili wa tokolokolo

Come with logs of wood

ko nda bonoko wa otima wa Lotata

to the mouth of the stream Lotata.

(b) The drum forms an accompaniment to communal singing or shouting. For instance, a woman of bad repute was expelled from the village of Yakusu by the entire population of several village sections who shouted insults at the departing woman. The drum first beat out the insults and these were then taken up in chorus by the assembled crowd.

A similar "drum concerto" is heard when a girl makes a run-away marriage to the village of

her future husband. Among other phrases announcing the arrival of the girl, the drum message is heard:

toliole mbu tu tu Shall we open (i.e. the town¹⁶) eh?eh?eh? to which question the whole crowd replies, accompanied by the drum:

olioleke o! Do not open . . . oh!

The drum takes part in a ceremony believed to be effective in removing epidemic disease from a village. The *kanga* (medicine-man) prepares a special form of *lisoo* ("medicine") which he throws into the river in front of the assembled villagers. These then take up the cry: *loo kende mbole* Disease, go down-river!

At the same time the drum is beaten with these words as the basis of the message.

(c) The wrestling drum shows a transition from message-beating to rhythmic dance-measure beating. Some hours before the wrestling match is due to begin the drummer calls up the villagers with a proper drum-message, saying:

¹⁶ This refusal to admit people into the town probably refers to the irate parents of the girl who will follow to claim her bridal price.

kbei kbei kitakita ki ki
 (this is non-verbal but represents
 onomatopoeically the drum sounds)
toineke lolonga lolikalika
 let us dance the dance
lokasekwele ko nda liande lia
 which came from the river of
bainatende la shanga ju ilonga
 the baEna tribe.¹⁷

At the actual wrestling place two performers often beat the drum, one man using small sticks instead of rubber-tipped drum-sticks. As the opponents take hold and begin to look for opportunities to throw one another the drum keeps up a continuous rhythmic beat, the language of which is:

liango likwesane, liango likwesane let the wrestling begin (bis)
takanaka tolinge, takanaka tolinge trip one another up! (bis)

As the bout proceeds however, the rhythm of the beating becomes more important than the language basis of the beats and some syllables of the words beaten are missed out. Thus, the first part of the message recorded above can be heard as:

li kwesane, li kwesane, or
lia . . . li . . . sane, lia . . . li . . . sane.

As soon as a throw is obtained, the rhythmic beating ceases and is replaced by a loud roll on the low-toned lip: *kubuuuuuuuu!*

The drum will then announce the name and town of the victor and as he awaits more challengers, will drum out:

efefe eloaloo, efefe eloaloo the hero, full of pride!

(d) Finally the talking drum is used in conjunction with the skin-topped drum *ngoma* and the wedge-shaped slit-drum *longombe* in the dance. Here there are no words given as a basis for the rhythmic beating on the drum.

The nature of the signals used on the "talking-drum"

The drum language of the Lokele tribe is essentially the same as spoken Kele. What is

¹⁷ Lokele people agree that wrestling is a foreign institution which came down-river from the baEna (waGenya) tribe, living at Stanley Falls.

beaten out on the two lips of the drum is the tone value of each syllable of the words used. This tone value is fixed for a given syllable, being either high or low since Kele is a bi-tonemal language.¹⁸ Thus the word for manioc in spoken Kele is *lomata* (. . .); in the drum language this same word occurs and is represented by three consecutive beats on the low lip of the drum. *ndaka*, a house, in spoken Kele is tonally (' .) and, occurring in the phrases of the drum language, it is represented by a high-note followed by a low-note.¹⁹

It will be readily observed, however, that there must be a large number of words with tone patterns identical with that of *lomata* or of *ndaka* and which therefore have exactly the same representation on the drum. Thus, the words, *bolemba*, a bad spirit; *lokonda*, forest; *bosongo*, drum-name for White man; *likolo*, above; all have a tone-pattern of (. .) which is identical with that of *lomata*. To distinguish such words on the drum it is necessary to add other words which make up small phrases. While *lomata* is sufficient in spoken Kele to indicate manioc the drum must beat out the stereotyped phrase:

lomata otikala kondo (.) the manioc which remains in the fallow ground.

The word *bolemba* occurs in the drum-message for rain where it is included in the stereotyped phrase:

bolemba olongo la loola lokoke
 (.)

the bad spirit son of spitting cobra and sunshine.

Similarly the word forest never occurs by itself in the drum language but always in the phrase:

lokonda tkelekele (.)

Finally, *likolo* is always heard in the phrase: *likolo ko nda use* (.) on high in the sky.

¹⁸ Carrington: "The Tonal Structure of Lokele." *African Studies*.

¹⁹ Only one case is known to the writer in which the spoken tones differ from those of the drummed word. This is the name for the White man, *bosongo* (. .) in spoken Kele and (. .) on the drum. Lokele drummers explain this by saying that the White man was first looked on as being red like brass *bosongo* (. .) Only later was he seen to be powerful as the river-current *bosongo* (. .) The drum has retained the old tonal pattern of . . .).

Hence, while the tonal patterns and therefore the drum notes for the initial words are identical, yet the following words, each of which has its own fixed tonal pattern, give a distinct tonal pattern to the phrase drummed out so that there is complete differentiation of the phrases on the drum.²⁰

Learning the drum language, for a Native boy, thus consists in committing to memory the words of a large number of stereotyped phrases and in being able to recognise these phrases when their tonal patterns are drummed out on the two lips of the *boungu*.

Other uses of the drum language

Exactly the same system of message transmission as that in use on the two-toned slit drum *boungu* is used for transmitting information

- (a) on the two-toned horn made of ivory or other animal horn, in which the lips are applied to a lateral hole with the thumb stopping or leaving open a terminal hole, thus producing a low or high note respectively.
- (b) by whistling with the lips using two notes varying by about a musical minor third. This is very commonly used by Yakusu school-boys to announce the arrival of the school-master to friends some little distance away.²¹ A small whistle is sometimes made by perforating the globular fruits of a forest tree; two notes are obtained which allow of message transmission using the drum language. These fruit whistles, like the signalling horns are, however, more commonly used by surrounding forest tribes than by the riverine Lokele people.
- (c) The shouting-at-distance language is also the same as the drum-signalling language, but the two notes of the drum are replaced by shouted *ke* or *le* for the low note and *ki* or

li for the high note. The phrase representing manioc would be shouted :

ke le ke ke ki le ke ki ke

while that for rain would take the form :

ke le ke ke li ki ke ke li ke ki le ki

This method of communication is commonly used between canoes on the river, where the sound is carried to distances beyond the reach of ordinary conversation. The tonal differences represented by *ke* and *ki* are distinguishable when phonetic differences which differentiate ordinary Kele speech are no longer possible because of the distance between speaker and listener.

As indicated above, the elements of the drum language are stereotyped phrases rather than single Kele words; but the words composing these phrases are essentially the same as those used in Kele speech. Some of the words used, however, are not heard in spoken Kele. A few of these "drum-words" are known to be archaic and it is probably correct to regard all as such. The drum language, because of the stereotyped nature of its elements, has perpetuated words which have become lost in the more flexible spoken Kele.

The phrases used in the drum messages are of great interest for the student of Lokele ways of thought. For this language it is possible to endorse Verbeken's statement for the Luba drum language :

"... elles (i.e. the stereotyped phrases) reflètent la mentalité indigène, révèlent leurs idées sur ce qui les entoure et nous éclairent sur la façon dont ils regardent certaines choses. On y découvre toute une vie insoupçonnée traduite par l'imagination vive et colorée."²²

A few examples of the stereotyped phrases are given; the word in spoken Kele is added in brackets and where possible the meaning of the words composing the phrase on the drum is added. Archaic words no longer used in speech or whose meanings are not known to present-day drummers are noted with an asterisk.

²⁰ A comparison useful for understanding the system of phrases used on the drum is that of the melodies of some well-known hymns. Thus the following hymn-tunes: Maryton, Whitburn, Cloisters, Pentecost, Ikley and Arizona all begin with three notes of the same pitch. But differentiation of the tunes is complete if the first three bars are played.

²¹ This system of signals may degenerate into a code however. cf. Whitehead: *Manuel de kiNgwana*. Wayika. 1928. pp. 282, 283.

²² Verbeken: "Le Tambour-Téléphone chez les indigènes de l'Afrique Centrale" Congo 1920. I p. 258.

wife : (<i>wali</i>)	<i>bokali* la balanga</i>	the wife (archaic form of word) with yams
girl : (<i>boseka</i>)	<i>boseka botilakende linginda</i>	the girl will not fish (with the <i>linginda</i> net)
orphan : (<i>lotika</i>)	<i>wana ati la sango la nyango</i>	the child has no father or mother
house : (<i>ndako</i>)	<i>ndako ya tumbe elundu likolo</i>	the house with shingles a long distance above
witch-doctor : (<i>kanga</i>)	<i>kanga simba elokito ya lolongo lolikalika</i>	the doctor lion man of the dance
water : (<i>balia</i>)	<i>balia ba lokola*</i>	water of ?
fish : (<i>swi</i>)	<i>yafele la yamboku</i>	two kinds of river fish
fowl : (<i>koko</i>)	<i>koko bologo bokiokio</i>	fowl, child of (an onomatopoeic word for chicken)
plantain : (<i>likondo</i>)	<i>likondo libotindela</i>	
palm-oil : (<i>baita</i>)	<i>baita bologo la litoko libotukola</i>	oil son of the palm-tree
firewood : (<i>toala</i>)	<i>tokolokolo twa toala</i>	sticks of firewood
goat : (<i>mbuli</i>)	<i>imbumbuli ja okeyge</i>	little goat of the village
moon or month : (<i>teggai, songe</i>)	<i>songe litangela mang*</i>	the moon looks at the earth
war : (<i>bita</i>)	<i>bita bilamba fuko</i>	war watches for opportunities
palaver : (<i>loaso</i>)	<i>njaso la bakambo*</i>	palavers and information
plural : <i>njaso</i>)		

In order to make up messages these stereotyped phrases are strung together with verbs or phrases containing verbal forms which are again stereo-

typed in nature, although they are built up with words the same as those used in Kele speech. Thus :

he has returned : (<i>asooiwa</i>)	<i>asooirola batindi mbisa</i> <i>asooirola bakolo mbisa</i>	he has returned his feet ; he has returned his legs.
he has arrived : (<i>asooiya</i>)	<i>aseli batindi bakolo se</i>	he has put feet and legs down . .
he has died : (<i>asooowa</i>)	<i>asooisilela bolio wa bakalekale</i>	he has finished in the corpse lying on its back.
let us hear about : (<i>tokeke mboli</i>)	<i>tokeke mboli, tokeke sango*</i>	let us hear the news, let us hear the news.
bring ! (<i>eshaka</i>)	<i>yatiekeke*</i>	come and leave ?
don't worry !	<i>seleke likoko lya botema se</i>	set down the knot of the heart.
listen !	<i>kpasa* mbo</i>	(know) that
come ! (<i>yauku</i>)	<i>yaku*</i>	come (archaic form)

Drum names. Every male Lokele is entitled to a drum name. This is usually given to him as soon as he can understand the drum language by his father. A man's full name consists of three parts :

- a phrase representing his own special name,
- a phrase representing the drum-name of his father,
- a phrase representing the drum-name of the village in which his mother was born.

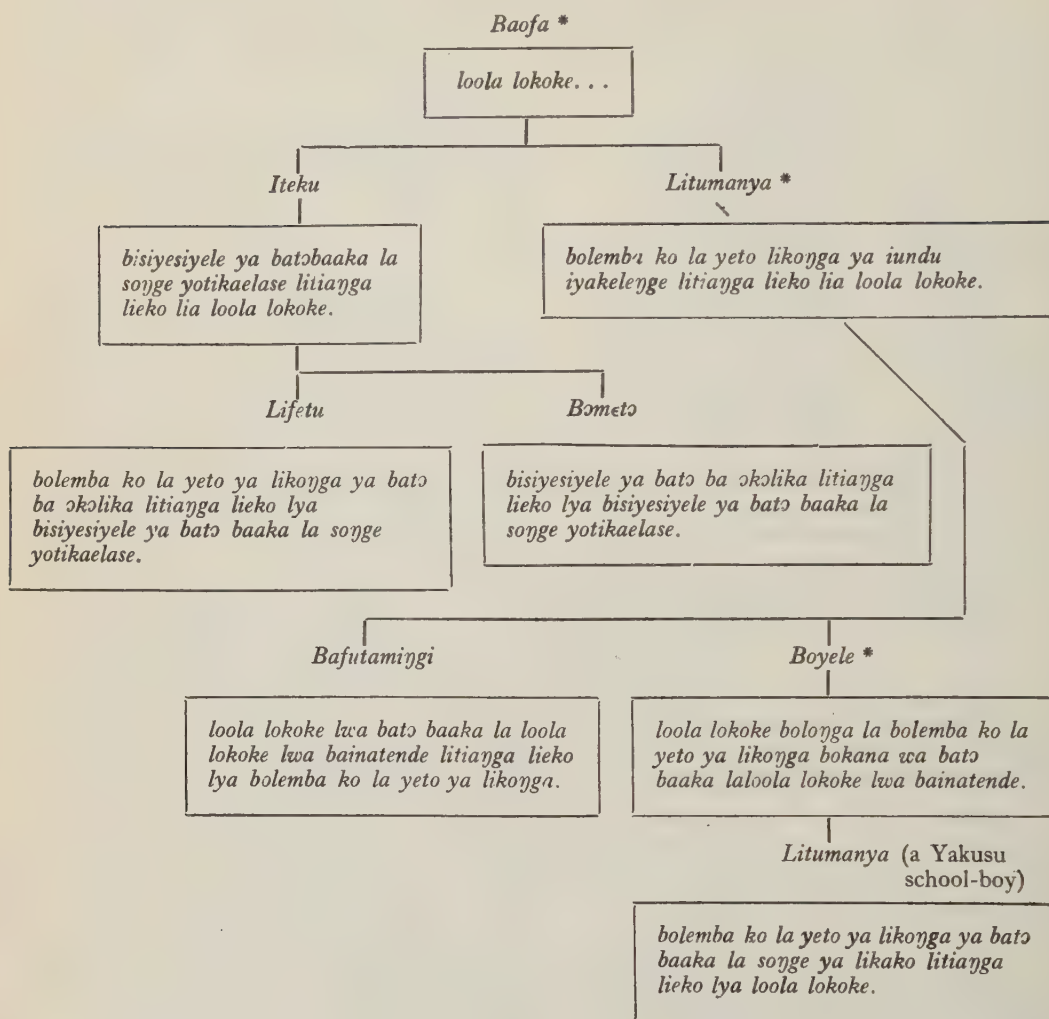
Parts (a) and (b) are united by the word

litianga lieko lya ²³ or *bologo la*, meaning son of ; while parts (b) and (c) are joined by *botiki wa*, or *bokana la*.

A boy's drum name is never made up "ad hoc" but is a name inherited from an ancestor or even a living member of the family. These drum names are again of great interest to the student of Lokele institutions and ways of thought. They form an important part of the oral literature of the tribe.

²³ Dialectic variation occurs along the river in this word, but the tonal pattern is constant : e.g. *ititwanga loeko*, *litilanga lileko*, etc.

Some members of a *Yafolo* family and their drum-names.



- N.B. (1) only a few of the male members of the family are given here.
 (2) names marked with an asterisk were or are still drum-makers.

The word in spoken Kele for a drum-name, namely *lombilambila*, is clearly derived from the same root as the word for a story or parable, namely *bombila*. The following examples taken from Lokele boys

in the Yakusu school shows the nature of these drum-names. Only part (a) of the names is given.

- (1) Botikotiko of Yaokombo.
bowango bokatomeli ita the strong man has not yet gone to fight. . . .
- (2) Bobe of Yefoloma.
balutakolā tumbe they pulled branches of the *tumbe* tree (i.e. the umbrella tree)
- (3) Wawina of Yafunga.
efefe etilaoke njaso the proud man will not listen to matters
- (4) Lotika of Yawenda.
wana ati la saygo la nyango,
alombakeli yeka ya bituka the child has no father or mother, he waits for food in the communal talking-house
- (5) Bofomo of Yakungu.
Osekeleke lokomba loindo twelo Don't laugh at the black skin, for a black skin belongs to
twa akentene, nyongo lokomba everyone
loindo lotisandelo boto se

(Nos. 4 and 5 are names belonging to boys from the related Foma tribe whose drum is identical with that of the Lokele people and who have the same spoken language.)

Girls have no special names on the drum. An unmarried girl is referred to as the daughter of so-and-so: *boseka botilakende linginda lya* . . . A married woman is drummed as the wife of so-and-

so: *bokali la alayga wa*

Lokele villages and village sections have special names on the drum and these are often of great intrinsic interest because they frequently reflect some historical event connected with the place named. Here are some examples of Lokele village drum-names:

- Yakusu: *bafaka ko la alembu* . . . (the old generation) were soft as fish floats (in war) . . .
- Yatumbo: *baaka la likundo* . . . they took revenge. . .
- Yatuka: *baaka bangene liande* . . . they were masters of the river . . .
- Yalufi: *baoloolo ba Yaokakanja* . . . the elders of Yaokakanja (the name for the central part of the Lokele tribe) . . .
- Yalokombe: *bolemba boti la oto la oto* . . . the bad spirit has no friend or kinsman . . .
- Yangambi: *bokolika ko nda bolombo* . . . the chimpanzee of the Bolombo folk (this village moved over to the river bank occupied by the Bolombo tribe, following a feud) . . .
- Yalikina: *elia ya liondo ya Yaokokonde* . . . the deep pool of Yaokokonde (the name for the western part of the Lokele tribe . . . Wembe) . . .
- Yaloca: *baaka la lifoka litilatunge mbisa* . . . they had riches unending . . .
- General name for tribes down-river:
liande lia loleka lotilesaelo . . . the river of poison whose virulence never abates . . .

The value of these "drum records" to the student of Lokele history will be readily apparent. It must be realised, however, that the village drum-names are capable of being changed. So

that the events referred to may not have occurred very long ago. If the change is known however, that in itself constitutes an historical record. Thus, after learning the drum-name of Yalokombe

I was informed that the village originally had the name :

baaka Vilole fosiŋga yeo

they had medicine to counteract curses

but, as a result of a fight between Yalokembo on the one hand and the combined villages of Yaloca (then on the right bank with Yalokombe), Yaowamia and Yaliele on the other, the town of Yalokombe was left by itself, Yaloca crossing over to the left bank, and the new name as given above was adopted.

Similarly the Yaloca name given here is comparatively new. Originally Yaloca was said to have the slightly different name :

batikaka lifoka liyatunge mbisa . . .

they had wealth of him who comes last.

This name is said to derive from the belief that Yaloca village was founded by the last son of the original ancestor of the Central part of the Lokele tribe. Thus Yaloca was the junior village of the Lokele community. But with the advent of European government one of the Yaloca chiefs was recognised as Chief of all the Lokele, and Yaloca village thus took the position of the senior village of the tribe. The drum-name was then changed to the form given above.

Complete messages on the drum

By using the stereotyped phrases described above and the drum-names of persons and villages, messages can be sent covering all the needs of Native life and many of the needs introduced by European civilisation.²⁴ A drummer usually begins with the call : *ki, ke*, repeated two or three times. Then follows the name of the person or persons to whom he wishes to "speak". His business follows. He concludes by drumming out the name of the person for whom the call is made, and then a series of beats on the low note terminates the communication. If the chief is

calling out to all his people he may add a warning that those who disobey the communication made will be liable to punishment. If the matter concerned in the call is a startling one, such as the death of an important person or an urgent order from the government, the phrase :

tolakondeloko, tolaoteloko . . .

"I've never seen the like since I was born!" may be introduced at the beginning and at the end of the message. There is always a good deal of repetition both of business and of the name of the person called. Each phrase is separated by a considerable interval, especially at the beginning of the message. The complete message may therefore take some time to drum out. Messages lasting twenty or thirty minutes are frequently heard.

When a general call is being drummed out for the whole village to assemble (e.g. to meet the State official) a special way of drumming is sometimes used. This consists in drumming very slowly the word : *yaku* (come) so that the beats are : low . . . high . . . low . . . high . . . low . . . high, and so on for about five or six times. Then follows, at normal drumming tempo, the business of the call. Again the drum beats out : *yaku*, as before and again, at normal tempo, a message follows. This is then continued for a considerable time.

There is a special introduction to the drum announcing a death. This is a repetition three or four times of the word : *walelaka* (cry!) and is followed by :

bileli ko nda baiso bolelo ko nda bonoko . . .

tears in the eyes, wailing in the mouth. . .

The drum-name of the person who has died is then drummed out.

The birth of twins is heralded by the drum with a special introductory phrase :

he baasa kelele, he baasa kelele . .

ho ! twins, ho ! twins,

bolunda kelele, baasa kelele . . .

poison ordeal, ho ! twins.

No Lokele informant can remember the poison ordeal ever being used to test the parents of twins, but this mention of the tree from which the poison is obtained very probably refers back to some rite

²⁴ Here are some examples of these "new needs" introduced by the White man.

(a) The Christian idea of God has been well translated by Lokele men belonging to the Church as : *liuwe lisango likasekwele likolo ko nda use . . .* the Father, he came down from heaven.

(b) a river steamer is : *botanda lakoko wa lisokusoku*, a canoe, very large, *wa borongo olimo ko nda lokonda* of the White man.

connected with the birth of twins in the Lokele community— a rite at present forgotten.

Some typical drum communications are now given (without the repetition normally occurring).

I. The writer calls up the Mission Station

*Botikaelase bologgo la bakwelo njaso ya okolika ya
bato baaka la yalioke*

*tangela tangela tangela
ko nda eolo ya atikaka
ya likondo libotumbela
tokambesaka ko la bokoko wa olondo
liko nde lioi lia bonoko
lia bosonggo olimo ko nda lokonda
kwinde ayenge, kwinde ayenge.
ke ke ke ke ke ke ke ke*

Reply: *ki ke ki ke*

*Bofulufulu wa lifoka wa
bosonggo olimo ko nda lokonda
yaku yaku yaku yaku
ko nda eolo ya atikaka
ya likondo libotumbela
esoooygana tokolelo
cha cha cha
ko nda eolo ya atikaka
ke ke ke ke ke ke ke ke*

II. The Chief of Yakusu village tells his people to clean up the town in view of the forthcoming visit of the Sector Chief.

Bato baaka la bosombo wa afaka ko la alembu

*teketekeketekeketekeketeke
bato batotina batotina
toyaleke tekeletekele
ko nda likurwa lia likembela lilembe
lia bokolokolo wa lousa
nyonggo litina
bofulufulu wa lifoka
wasu wa Yaokakanja*

*ale ndoya ale ndoya
bifefele biloaloa
ebitilaoke njaso la akambo
ya liomi litooma boungu²⁵
bokaka wale bokaka wale
ke ke ke ke ke ke ke ke*

²⁵ An alternative version for *boungu* would be *bokoko wa olundu*.

overseer, Lifindiki, to ask whether the plantain have arrived for sale on the Station market. Lifindiki replies that the market is ready and requests the writer's attendance. The call opens with *ki, ke*. Then:

Lifindiki's drum name (N.B. the part (c) of page 81 is not here drummed because his name is already a long one)

*look, look, look
at the market place
of plantain
tell us on the drum
this is the word of mouth
of the White man
himself, himself.
(terminal signal)*

*giant of riches, (a title of respect) namely,
the White man
come come come come
to the market-place
of plantain
it is quite ready
absolutely so
on the market place.
(terminal signal)*

*men of Yakusu
signal of "alert" (=ki, ke)
men all all
let us be gathered together
at the work of small knives of the garden
of the grass outside
because the reason (is)
the giant of riches
of us of Yaokakanja (the Sector Chief is a village
chief from the central part of the Lokele tribe)
is to come is to come.
the men full of pride
who will not hear the messages
of the drumming (which) beats out the drum
will feel pain will feel pain.
(terminal signal)*

III. The writer calls up Yakusu school-boys to say that the Scholars' Bank is about to be opened (every Wednesday and Saturday morning).

ki ke ki ke

Batienga baeko ba

*bosongo olimo ko nda lokonda
yaku yaku yaku yaku
ko nda ndako ya tumbe elundu likolo
ya bosongo olimo ko nda lokonda
oyakayeke la bilanga tuka bolonja mbeku²⁶
yaku yaku yaku yaku
ke ke ke ke ke ke*

children of
the White man
come come come come
to the house
of the White man
who holds the money which arranges matters
come come come come.
(terminal signal)

IV. Call to Bafutamengi, fishing on the river, to announce that his wife has given birth to a baby boy and to ask him to return to the town. Bafutamengi is a man of Yafolo village.

ki ke

*Boleka bolongo bofilaitoko wa liande
loo la lokoke loa bato baaka la loola
loko ke loa bainatende, litianga lieko
lia bolemba ko la yeto ya likonga
bokana wa iundu iyakeleenge
inolaka batindi mbisa inolaka bakolo mbisa
ko nda likeleenge liboke
boto botomali wa liyo
oyayaliki ko nda botitawa bakakulu
asooota litianga lieko lya wana otolome
ila batindi likolo ila bakolo likolo
yaku yaku yaku yaku
seleke likoko lia botema se
sokolaka likoko lia botema likolo ko nda use
ke ke ke ke ke ke ke*

(opening signal)
(the drum) crosses the river
the drum name of Bafutamengi

return (cf. page 81)
to the town
the woman
who was in the small house at the back
has born a son a male child
return (lit. lift up feet, lift up legs)
come, come, come, come.
don't worry (lit. set down the knot of the heart,
take away the knot of the heart up into the sky).
(terminal signal).

V. Call to Yafolo townsmen and surrounding villages to announce that on the morrow the ceremony of circumcision will be performed in Yafolo.

kbei²⁷ kelckele

*botolome kowa ita botolome kosasemo
kotikala bolio wa otolome ko omwito*

*yaku yaku yaku yaku
totinyeke lombete botema kolutaka
ko lelengo ekaliekele likolo ko nda use
nda likeleenge liboke lya yatoma
iyalelo fa lifoto.
ke ke ke ke ke ke ke*

special opening signal reserved for circumcision
"drum"

the male is wounded (as in war) the male recovers
remains only the corpse of the male (probably,
refers to the possibility of death from the wound)
come, come, come, come,
let us cut the foreskin
tomorrow when it has risen in the sky.
in the town of
Yafolo.
(terminal signal).

²⁶ The *bilanga* refers to hard lumps of plastic material formed under the forge by the effect of heat on the sand. These, formed into bracelets, acted as money.

²⁷ This word is an onomatopoeic rendering of the sound made by striking both high and low lips of the drum simultaneously.

The Decline in the art of drumming

The lack of care of the talking-drums in some present-day Lokele communities has already been mentioned (see page 76). Writing in 1910 about Yakusu village Sutton Smith said :²⁸

"There are many drums in a village. Several of the headmen will possess one of their own. They almost venerate them and would as soon think of parting with them as of selling their hut. The village drum would never be put on the market for sale ; it is a village institution."

During a recent survey of drums in the villages surrounding the Yakusu Mission Station the writer noted that three of the fifteen sections of the large village of Yakusu had no drums and three others had only small ones costing less than 60 fr. each.

The decline in the art of drum-signalling is perhaps seen more clearly in some statistics collected in the Yakusu Schools during recent years. It was considered that the number of boys who could reproduce in full their drum-names (this involving a knowledge of their fathers' names on the drum and the names of the mother's towns) would be a fairly reliable index of the knowledge of the art of drum-signalling among the boys.

The first investigation was made in 1939 with boys then pupils in the Mission Boys' School. In 1943 a second investigation was made in the Boys' School and also in other schools meeting on the Station. Table IV shows a comparison between the results obtained for the two investigations separated by a space of four years.

TABLE IV.

year	total boys in school	boys knowing drum-names	percentage : boys knowing name/total
1939	262	142	54 %
1943	423	187	39 %

An analysis into age-groups of the 1943 Boys' School figures coupled with the figures obtained from the other Station Schools is of interest since it shows plainly that the younger boys know less of drum-signalling than the older boys and men. Table V (page 88) gives details :

The figures quoted here do not refer exclusively to the Lokele tribe since there are representatives of at least six important tribes in the Mission schools. If the figures obtained are analysed into tribal groups there is seen to be a marked difference in the degree to which the drum-names have been forgotten by boys of different tribal origin. Thus (Table VI, page 88) :

In general then, the Lokele tribe has been most susceptible to this influence of European civilisation. This would perhaps be expected for the

riverine tribe, which is in more frequent contact with the "White man" than the neighbouring forest tribes.

Summary. 1. It is pointed out that the drum-signals of the Lokele tribe are the tonal patterns of stereotyped phrases composed of words which do not differ essentially from the words of spoken Kele. Since Kele is a bitonemal language the two-toned slit drum is adequate for these signals.

2. The slit drum and other instruments used to transmit the drum-language are described.

3. Examples are given of the stereotyped phrases making up the language, and the system of drum-names is described. These names are shown to have value for local, historical and ethnographical research.

4. Statistics are given showing the marked decrease in drum-signalling of recent years among the Lokele people.

²⁸ Sutton Smith : *Yakusu the very heart of Africa*. London 1910.

TABLE V.

School	Type of pupil	Average age (estimated)	Total pupils	Total knowing drum	Percent. knowing drum
<i>Normal School</i>	<i>married men with at least two years' teaching experience</i>	25	10	10	100 %
<i>Evening School</i>	<i>married and unmarried workmen of the Mission</i>	23	33	30	91 %
<i>Medical School⁽²⁹⁾</i>	<i>mostly unmarried youths from the top class of the Boys' School</i>	18	11	10	91 %
<i>Boys' School Vth year</i>		16	39	18	46 %
<i>IVth „</i>		16	59	36	60 %
<i>IIIrd „</i>		15	106	47	43 %
<i>IInd „</i>		13	162	72	44 %
<i>Ist „</i>		11	40	10	25 %

²⁹ This includes only boys in the school from the Yakusu Mission area.

TABLE VI.

Tribe	Total in Boys' School	Total knowing drum-names	percentage boys knowing/total
<i>Lokele</i>	179	65	36 %
<i>Eso</i>	26	11	42 %
<i>Foma</i>	67	29	43 %
<i>Bolombo</i>	36	19	53 %
<i>BaMbole</i>	79	46	58 %
<i>baManga</i>	21	14	67 %
<i>baKomo</i>	3	0	— (not significant)

THE WRITTEN REPRESENTATION OF INTER-VOCALIC GLIDES IN NYANJA

T. PRICE

At present it is fair to say that there is no Nyanja language, but only a number of dialects of Nyanja type, two of which have preponderant influence in determining written forms. Untutored dialect speakers, who have picked up some knowledge of the Roman alphabetic rendering of Native sounds make shift to transcribe the only language they know—often with quaint and academically interesting results. Such texts are too diverse to have any constructive influence, but amount to such bulk as to have considerable disruptive power. Moreover, even in the normalised texts, based on European investigations and prescription in school instruction, there are unresolved differences within the two main dialects. Rules of Orthography published under official auspices in 1931 tried to remedy this situation, but were found in practice to have insufficient justification for many of their prescriptions, and were discredited from the first by disregard of them in official texts. Even conscientious missionary observance and acceptance of them, as the standard of orthography taught and required in schools, has not sufficed to establish them.

This paper deals with only one of the orthographic problems which they treated. Its complexity was recognised in six sub-headings, but the question was begged comprehensively by the statement that *w* and *y* should be written “in all root words in which the sounds are to be recognised”. A test word is the verb-stem “to catch fish with a hook”, which is pronounced and transcribed as *-edza*, *-wedza*, *-yedza*. The terms of the rule cover any of these forms.

Vowels in immediate succession are fairly frequent in Nyanja, both as stem elements and as the result of grammatical accidence. They are not to be confused with long vowels, which are indicated by reduplication: *-fiila*, *kaamba*, *-boola*, *-pfuula*; and are single sounds incapable of internal modification.

The common negative *iai*, “no”, admirably illustrates the source of confusion in this department of Nyanja orthography. In ordinary quiet negation it has the initial *i* pitched mid-high and *ai* a falling diphthong. More emphatic denial shifts the high pitch to medial *a*, a development which both breaks the diphthong and introduces a palatal glide between initial *i* and the *a* following, justifying the spelling *iyai*. Conclusive denial or outbreak of temper produces deliberate enunciation of all three vowels with high pitch throughout, and writers have adopted the spelling *iyayi* to render this. The glides are represented here in interpretation of subjective attitudes, to indicate abnormal syllabification which the reader should be able to deduce from the context of a written account, and the ordinary *iai* offers a completely adequate transcription.

In some dialects diphthongs survive, written with successive vowels, which elsewhere have developed into single resultant sounds. Typical forms are: *yaikulu*, *yekulu*; *waukali*, *wokali*. In such words neither component of the diphthong has any prominence, and there is no occasion to introduce the glide symbol which some writers have felt to be required as reinforcement for a solitary prominent vowel. The single resultant will probably prevail in the end, but meanwhile the diphthongal orthography not only represents a living form, but has the advantage of demonstrating the construction by succession of prefixes.

Most of the glides in Nyanja occur between vowels, one of which has special prominence marked by higher pitch, which may accompany special stress. The orthography is highly unsettled, for observers of equal reputation disagree in their judgements of the actual occurrence and prevalence of glides in speech. These disagreements are reflected in spelling. The following table shows the forms which occur in significant numbers in Native MSS. There is a slight pre-

ponderance of forms specifically recommended by the 1931 Rules, but the divergence is ample to justify reconsideration. The material is mainly in the literary dialect of the south-east. *W* conventionally represents a labio-velar glide, *y* a

palatal glide. Inconsistent orthography is demonstrated by the occurrence of the same word in two or more columns, and such inconsistency frequently occurs in the same MS.

Inconsistent <i>y</i>	Alternative	Inconsistent <i>w</i>	Consistent form
<i>siyila</i> <i>masiye</i> <i>siya</i> <i>miyono</i> <i>miyula</i> (ee does not occur) (ei " " ") <i>madeya</i>	<i>siila</i> <i>masie</i> <i>sia</i> <i>miono</i> <i>miula</i> <i>madea</i>		
(eo occurs only occasionally as alternative to eu)			
<i>mwayi</i> <i>ayesa</i> <i>ayandama</i>	<i>mwai</i> <i>aesa</i> <i>aandama</i> <i>sanaone</i>	 <i>sanawone</i>	 <i>mseu</i> <i>mau</i>
<i>coyipa</i> <i>oyeluza</i>	<i>coipa</i> <i>oeluza</i> <i>boa</i> <i>oonda</i>	 <i>cowipa</i> <i>oweluza</i> <i>bowa</i> <i>owonda</i>	 <i>zowma</i>
<i>kuyitana</i> <i>kuyenda</i>	<i>kuitana</i> <i>kuenda</i> <i>malua</i> <i>kuomba</i> <i>kuuwa</i>	 <i>kuwitana</i> <i>maluwa</i> <i>kuwomba</i> <i>kuwowa</i>	

By inspection, it appears that :

I. The only single and consistent forms are those in which *u*, following a vowel of lower position, absorbs any sound of transition and suppresses any suggestion that there is a glide which may be represented.

II. For each of the other vowel pairs, there is

one common form in which the vowels are simply written in immediate succession.

The writing of vowels in succession with no representation of an interposed glide may therefore be accepted as standard.

This convention meets two common points of view in discussions of Nyanja orthography :

(a) That since the glides are not always readily perceptible, it is misleading to establish them in spelling. The omission of a specific symbol indicates that they may not be heard. Appreciation of the nature of the different vowels allows the possibility of a given glide occurring to be deduced, since front vowels and *a* produce palatal glides, back vowels produce velar glides, and in conflict of influence the higher pitched vowel is prepotent.

(b) That while the sounds are sometimes obviously present, no symbols exist to represent them. The semi-vowels should transcribe indisputable sounds, such as those in the words: *mawa*, *ciwalo*, *kulawila*; *malaya*, *pambuyo*.

It follows that a step towards stabilising orthography will be to list the comparatively few occurrences of a semi-vowel between two vowels, so that the elimination of inconstant glides will not involve the omission of constant semi-vowels.

The convention also settles the problem of writing three vowels in succession, with all the permutations of glides produced by different emphases. We now write simply: *pakuaitana*, *asanauone*. And it removes one of the minor difficulties of the beginner in language study, who finds the intrusive *y* of *kuyenda* a hindrance to clear recognition of the derivation of *mwendo*.

Different writers and different schools will find their habits upset in some respects; but no universal custom is overturned, for the examples on which the convention is founded all occur in significant number.

There remain special cases, of limited range.

(a) Demonstrative and referent enclitics in concord with the noun-prefixes *MU-* (Meinhof, 1), *A-*, *MU-* (Meinhof 3), *MI-*, (*I*)*N-*, *U-*, *MA-* consist essentially of single vowels. These are bound to come in immediate succession to the final vowel of the word to which they are suffixed, and to maintain the independence of the enclitic vowel a glide is normally interposed, the nature of which is normally determined by the mode of formation of the enclitic, e.g. *anthuwa*, *mingayi*, *utawo*, *mahuwo*. But the enclitics in concord with *MU-* (1) and *MU-* (3) are distinguished by

the apparently conventional difference of palatal and velar glide respectively:

MU- (1) *munthuyu* *mlondayo*

MU- (3) *muluwu* *mundawo*

All these glides are retained when absolute demonstratives are built up on the enclitics, by prefixing to each enclitic the characteristic vowel found in the "this" form:

nhukuyi (this fowl); cf. *Iyi ndi nhuku* (This is a fowl).

makawo (those hoes); cf. *Awo ndi makasu* (Those are hoes).

munthuyu (this man); cf. *Uyu ndi munthu* (This is a man).

In view of this extension of the syllabifying function of a glide-symbol, there is a good case for retaining it in the demonstratives affected.

(b) The possessive qualificative of the 3rd person plural is formed by suffixing *-o* to a prefix ending in *a-*. The possessive in concord with nouns of the classes *A-* or *MA-* is in fact phonetically indistinguishable from the remote demonstrative absolute *awo*. The recommendation of the 1931 Rules, that no *w* should be written between the vowels of possessive forms in the 3rd person plural, has proved practicable and acceptable, and agrees with the general convention proposed in this article. The orthography of this construction therefore needs no further special consideration.

But the same sub-section of the old Rules goes too far when it includes under this recommendation the word *nao*, alternatively *nawo*. It is an alternative construction for the combination *ndi iwo* (with them, and they). The *w* of *iwo* is clear and undisputed. The spelling *nao* not only obscures the relation with *iwo*, but suggests a confusing parallel with the possessives. On the other hand, *nawo* is a parallel construction to that of the singular *naye*, alternative to *ndi iye* (with him, and he), which retains the consistent *y* of *iye*. *Nawo* is always a pronominal construction. Glides are represented exceptionally in words which function as pronouns. These considerations suggest that the Rule may profitably be overturned in this respect.

(c) The objective infix is for all concords except *MU-* (1) simply the near demonstrative enclitic, dealt with under (a) above, transferred to a position before the verb-stem. It normally forms a diphthong with the vowel of the formative preceding, since a polysyllabic verb diverts stress from it, e.g. *anaigwila*, *adzaulandila*; and few writers have been tempted to insert any intermediate letter. But when the verb is monosyllabic, the objective infix has to take the normal penultimate stress, amounts to a separate syllable, and is frequently given a reinforcing *w* or *y*, e.g. *anayipha*, *tinawumva*. But the usual variation in estimate of the necessity for such reinforcement is weighted on the side of omission by the analogy of the more frequent constructions with polysyllabic verbs, and there is no strong consideration here for retaining the glide of the enclitic.

There is however one exception. The element *a* in concord with the prefixes *A-* and *MA-*, is frequently found to succeed immediately another *-a* of a verbal formative, e.g. *aafuna*, *mwaafuna*, *akaafuna*, or is even sandwiched between formative *-a* and *a-* initial of the verb-stem, e.g. *anaa-anp'ana*, *angaaang'ane*. In order to lessen confusion in such words, both normal spoken practice and orthographic convenience approve of the transfer of the full enclitic, with initial *w*, to act as objective infix, e.g. *akawafuna*, *angawaang'ane*.

(d) Certain customary forms appear to be justified by other than purely phonetic considerations, or even maintained in face of them. The phonetic characteristics of the vowels concerned justify all the variations of the stem *-edza*, quoted early in this article; e.g. *mwana aedza nsomba*; *tifuna kuwedza nsomba*; *mfumu iyedza nsomba*. The general rule proposed would decide that *-edza* is the standard written form; but there is a noun of the same stem, *mbedza* (fish-hook), the *b* of which suggests a constant labial element in the stem, not sufficiently strong to overcome special adverse circumstances, yet suggesting that *-wedza* is the fundamental form.

Similarly, the verb "to keep domestic animals" varies between *-weta* and *-yeta*. The noun *ciweto* (domestic animal), with *w* between a pair of front vowels, again weighs the evidence on the side of *-weta*.

It is generally assumed that there are two completely homophonous verbs, one of which means "see" and the other "be true", and which are spelled *-ona* or, less frequently, *-wona*. For example, the first commercial vernacular newspaper was called *Zo Ona* (sic) "Truth." But the nouns *umboni* (testimony) and *maonekedwe* (appearance) as well as parallels in Yao indicate that we may properly distinguish between *-ona* (see) and *-wona* (be true).

The alternation *ciboo*, *cibowo* (a perforation) is an example of orthography overtaxed. The root *boo* has already appeared, in *-boola*, as an example of the representation of a long vowel. The noun may be analysed into the components: *ci-* noun prefix, *-boo-* stem, *-o* noun suffix; cf. *cimvano* (sympathy), *kumvana* (to understand each other). The full form *cibooo* is rather more than elegance is prepared to tolerate; yet to reduce it is to obscure the presence of the normal noun-suffix. The insertion of a syllabifying *w*, indicating stress on the first *o*, which gives it the necessary length, appeared to those who thought about the matter to be the most satisfactory solution; but to most writers it appeared to be an unnecessary refinement, and in practice the omission of the *w* causes no trouble to any but analysing grammarians.

To summarise: the letters *u* and *y* should normally be written only where they represent consistent semi-vowels in Nyanja words. Their intermittent use to indicate inter-vocalic glides should be abandoned. Instead, consistent use should be made of them in some specific constructions of limited occurrence, on grounds of consistency with other established usages, or of useful distinction of different functions of homophones.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

An Editor Retires

Owing to pressure of his duties as Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones has resigned from the joint editorship of *African Studies*. We are glad, however, that he has consented to remain a member of the editorial committee of a journal with which he has been so closely associated since its inception. The present journal, now in its third year, is the continuation of *Bantu Studies*, which concluded its fifteenth volume in 1941.

The journal was founded by Mr. Rheinallt Jones in October 1921, and he was the first editor. From the Witwatersrand Council of Education came the financial support which it has continued to give ever since. The early numbers of the journal were modest in size and extent and appeared at irregular intervals; but in 1930, with Volume IV, the journal became a regular quarterly and in the following year Professor C. M. Doke joined Mr. Jones as joint editor. The joint editors have worked in happy co-operation, and they have had the assistance of an editorial board which has given specialist advice.

Mr. Jones was most successful from the beginning in gaining contacts with field workers, missionary and administrative, who were able to contribute articles of value on the various subjects covered by the journal. Moreover, his activities as secretary of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies contributed largely to the measure of co-operation which the editors have enjoyed with the heads of the Bantu Studies departments in each of the South African Universities as well as with the Chief Inspectors of Native Education in each of the Provinces and the British Protectorates.

We record our gratitude to Mr. Jones for his initiative and vision in the early days, and for the long service he has given to the journal; and we trust that he will long remain associated with it.

In Mr. Jones's place Mr. Julius Lewin has been appointed joint editor. He succeeded Mr. Jones

in 1939 as Lecturer in Native Law and Administration in the University of the Witwatersrand.

* * * *

Mrs. Edith Rheinallt Jones

We deeply regret to report in this same number of *African Studies* the death in April last of Mrs. Edith B. Jones, wife of Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones. The wonderful gathering of Europeans and Africans at the funeral service testified to the great esteem in which Mrs. Jones was held. Her work on behalf of African women and children in so many ways was unrelenting. She was an authority on Native education and health problems, and had deeply studied the difficult question of land tenure for Natives. For years she had rendered unstinting service, in an honorary capacity, to the Institute of Race Relations, ably supporting and supplementing the work of her husband there.

Despite these varied and onerous activities, Mrs. Jones was keenly interested in the study of Bantu languages and devoted her attention specially to the study of Shona, in which subject she was appointed an Honorary Lecturer in 1942 in the Department of Bantu Studies in the Witwatersrand University, and in which she carried out considerable grammatical research.

The death of Mrs. Rheinallt Jones, coming so soon after that of the Rev. R. Ellenberger, is a heavy blow to the Department of Bantu Studies; and there are few organizations connected with the welfare of the African people in South Africa which will not keenly feel her loss. We tender our warm sympathy to Mr. Rheinallt Jones and to his daughter, Mrs. Francis Wynne.

* * * *

The French Carry On

It is a significant sign of strength that the French Committee of National Liberation has authorized the resumption of scientific research of a social and anthropological nature in all colonies under its control, and especially in Africa. At Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, which is the second largest colony on the continent, a new research centre has been created

which is to initiate and supervise the systematic exploration of the culture, language, law, and history of the indigenous peoples of the colony. The centre is under the directorship of M. Edouard Trezenem, a district commissioner of long standing, now released to concentrate entirely on this work. M. Trezenem is a pupil of Mlle. Homburger and was engaged at the Musée de l'Homme at Paris. He has himself conducted investigations into racial physical differences in the Middle Congo. The centre is considered as an important auxiliary in pursuance of the Native policy adopted by the French Committee. This policy aiming at the ultimate objective of assimilation, will, it is thought, be more effective if the transition of large numbers of Africans from tribal rule to modern ways is as smooth as possible, by preserving as much of Native law and the natural adjustment patterns in this inhospitable equatorial region as is compatible with modern agricultural and industrial institutions. The Governor-General, M. Eboué, had himself made substantial contributions to our anthropological and linguistic knowledge of the peoples of the Ubangui territory, and been responsible for recent research work into the drum language of the forest people and their musical culture. His death last month is a heavy loss.

The French mandate of the Cameroun, loosely affiliated to the Government General of French Equatorial Africa has resumed publication of their journal "*Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises*," following a resolution of the Governor's administrative council. The journal is dedicated mainly to anthropological research and the discussion of research tools such as questionnaires, but the French outlook is unmistakably expressed in the introductory note of the new, enlarged journal, written by the Governor of the Cameroun: "The Society wishes to do useful work. It will succeed if it can count on the assistance of all those who are contributing to making this a French land, but who know that their task is not yet completed." There follows a good synoptic sketch of the main tribal groupings of the interesting Camerounese people, a summary study which will be elaborated in subsequent issues. The last number of the journal which has come to hand contains a geographical study of the Douala region, including the capital and port and important industrial undertakings.

We note with pleasure that both the Society and the Centre are eager to keep in touch with the research work which is being done in South Africa and we warmly endorse their hope of friendly contact.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

African Intelligence. By S. BIESHEUVEL. 1943. Johannesburg: *S.A. Institute of Race Relations*. 225 pp. 7s. 6d.

This book is an analysis of the problem of how to compare the intelligence of South African Natives with the intelligence of South Africans of European descent. It was written between 1939 and 1941, but publication was delayed by the author's military service.

The plan of the book is as follows: after a brief description of present-day theories of intelligence, and a survey of the main types of test in current use, the author proceeds to analyse the conditions required for an adequate study of racial intelligence—principles of sampling, and choice of test material and procedure. He then examines in turn the main environmental factors known to affect test-intelligence, and applies the findings of American investigators to the South African situation. He analyses the influence of home environment, schooling, nutrition, and temperament on test-intelligence scores; for each factor he gives a survey of experimental results in other countries, followed by a survey of the sociological background of the South African Native. He carefully considers the possibility of selecting a European control group with environment similar to that of the average Native, but decides that it would be valueless at present. Where such Europeans can be found, they would probably be of inferior hereditary equipment, and would thus not be a valid control group. He concludes that with our present tests, and our present knowledge no valid comparisons can be made between European and African intelligence, since there is no way of neutralizing environmental influences on test scores. The concluding chapter is a critical review of Dr. M. L. Fick's experiments, as reported in his book *The Educability of the S.A. Native*. Dr. Biesheuvel concludes that Dr. Fick's results are wholly fallacious.

The book contains no reports of experimental work by the author, and is rather a prolegomena to such studies, clearing the ground and revealing

pitfalls. Doubtless Dr. Biesheuvel would have started on such experiments if it had not been for his work in the Air Force. In a note at the end of the book he says that experiments on the lines suggested in his book are now being carried out at the University of the Witwatersrand. One awaits their results with interest. The resources of psychological laboratories in South Africa are none too great, and there is a strong case for team work in such studies. It would be well worth while for the Universities, in consultation with one another, to outline 15 or 20 concrete problems in this field, and each to undertake a thorough study of two or three. In this way research could be far more fruitful than it is today. The ordinary M.A. thesis in psychology in S.A. is of hardly any value because problems are selected haphazard, and lead to nothing. If the topics of theses were more modest, and were fitted into a pattern, much might be achieved.

Dr. Biesheuvel makes certain positive proposals about fruitful lines of research. The influence of time-limits on tests of African children, the effects of different incentives, and of degrees of familiarity with the kind of material used in tests. Until these have been studied properly, there is no value in comparisons of Native and European intelligence, except as a measure of present adaptation to a Western environment.

Two examples may be quoted. When Dr. E. G. Malherbe tried out his well-known Match Test on a group of rural Native children, he found that these children did not see the successive patterns in a definite order from left to right (as seems "natural" to us from our habits of reading) and they did not even think of them as laid out on a plane surface; when asked to reproduce the patterns, they might make one on top of a box, and the next one on the ground. To a Native living in Pondoland or Basutoland, plane surfaces are not a common occurrence; every thing bends, curves or rolls; the urban European lives in the midst of planes—walls, tables, pieces of paper. An experimenter from Natal University College,

testing the ability of Zululand Natives to reproduce patterns with pebbles on the ground, found that squares tended to be reproduced as circles. Sharp angles are as rare in Zululand as plane surfaces; even houses have no corners. Considerations like this show that the ordinary form-board brings in many subtle environmental factors.

Dr. Biesheuvel emphasizes the need for much more qualitative descriptive studies of Native thought processes on the lines pioneered by F. B. Nel and T. M. H. Endemann. This seems to me the most valuable line of approach. Far too much published work consists of collecting some figures, subjecting them to elaborate calculations of correlation and dispersion, and drawing some pretty graphs in several colours, without bothering to consider what processes the figures represent. It is far easier to collect a few statistics than to observe a human being; and one sometimes gets the impression that almost any figures are good enough for a quick Ph.D.

The author suggests that, if any racial comparisons are to be made, they should be subjected to corrections based on regression lines showing the influence of each main environmental factor. I do not think that there would be any value in such attempts. While everyone agrees that parental attitudes, schooling, etc., have some effect on test-intelligence, no one knows how these different influences are to be added together. And anyhow, racial comparisons are not of much real importance; any calculations made on this subject would be used merely as political bludgeons, not as honest steps in investigation.

African Intelligence is an essential handbook for aspiring experimenters. It employs a rigid logic which is all too often lacking in discussions of the subject, and opens up many profitable lines of inquiry.

BERNARD NOTCUTT.

Colour Conflict. By G. W. BROOMFIELD. 1943. London: *Edinburgh House Press*, 144 pp. 2s. 6d.

Ever since the publication of Maurice Evans's epoch-making book *Black and White in South-*

East Africa in 1910, many writers "have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration" on this complex subject. The order is now familiar—land, taxation, political rights, pass laws, segregation, education, and so forth, one almost doubts whether much that is new can be said. It is particularly pleasing, therefore, to be able to say that Mr. Broomfield's book would come very near a first choice to be placed in the hands of anyone desiring a fair presentation in small compass of the problem of race relations in Africa.

I shall confine myself to bringing to the notice of readers of this review some of the less familiar aspects of this subject to which the writer of the book draws our attention. For instance, in the chapter, where he deals with the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 about the paramountcy of the interests of the African, he discusses what he calls the character and urgency of "conflicting interests." The first thing to be considered is "not whether either party has a right to preferential treatment, but whether the interests in question are of the same urgency." He is not afraid to say that the wording of the declaration is unfortunate, though it enshrines a principle which must at all costs be upheld.

With regard to pass laws, the writer makes the interesting point that in places like Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam, to which Africans gravitate and where there are large mixed populations of Natives, Indians, Arabs and Europeans, and where it might be expected that there would be special need of control, good public order is maintained. Yet apart from the passports required by those arriving by sea, no pass laws exist.

The chapter on employment and wages is challenging. In the Union of South Africa, African wages are admittedly higher than in any of the other territories dealt with, but they must be considered in relation to wages of European employees. On the mines the ratio of African to European pay is about 1 to 7, and in secondary industries roughly 1 to 5. But in Europe the common ratio between wages for unskilled and skilled work, for instance in the building and engineering trades, is approximately 5 to 7.

The chapter on the protection of European

interests is another excellent one. The writer holds that white standards of civilisation should be upheld but : (a) if the maintenance of essential European standards in Africa is impossible without arbitrary restriction of Native progress, then the White settlers should not be there at all, and (b) many Europeans expect for themselves a standard of living which is substantially higher than can be regarded as the *essentials* of European civilisation, and higher than Africa, which is a poor country apart from its mines, can be expected to support.

It is impossible in a short review to touch on other most interesting approaches to the vital aspects of the colour problem that this book opens up. The book must be bought and carefully pondered. The last chapter deals very wisely with social relationships ; in fact the whole book is noteworthy for its balanced judgment, which is so necessary in dealing with this complex problem of race. Mr. Bloomfield pays a just tribute to the "immense authority" of that "monumental work" *An African Survey* by Lord Hailey and his staff of experts. In the bibliography at the end a place should be found for another book of balanced judgment which the Black and White problem has called forth, namely Dr. Edgar Brookes's *The Colour Problems of South Africa*.

A. J. HAILE.

Democratise the Empire : A Policy for Colonial Change. By W. M. MACMILLAN. 1941. London : Kegan Paul. 64 pp. 1s.

This is one of a series of pamphlets published under the title *The Democratic Order*, and the introduction states, "Their theme is the new democratic order ; the practical steps necessary in economic affairs, finance, industry and agriculture, in political policy, education and the social services that are needed to establish that order and the growth in our own understanding of the values and ethics of civilisation which is necessary also."

In *Democratise the Empire* Professor Macmillan who is well known in South Africa, discusses his theme in a popular and forceful way. He pleads

for a new vision of democratic freedom. In dealing with anti-democratic influences, reference is made to the clash of interests in "mixed" areas, such as South Africa, where democratic development has been one-sided and where the freedom of the White community came to be used as a means for making more secure the position of the White minority and increasing control of the Black majority. There is a fear of Native competition in the economic life of South Africa, while at the same time the unsatisfactory position regarding land for Native occupation and use, has driven large numbers of impoverished Natives to urban areas in search of employment in order to maintain themselves and their families. The author considers the presence of a large settled urban Native population inevitable and advisable, and there is a need for organising to meet these conditions "even if this means a break-away from tribal habit to life in industrial towns."

The present unsatisfactory conditions relating to nutrition, diet and health services are stressed. "Nothing will serve in the colonies but the sustained drive to build up and develop simultaneously the work of the three constructive services—health, education, agriculture."

Professor Macmillan urges that there is a fundamental weakness in the experiment known as indirect rule, if this is considered to be the last word in the government of any people. Something more is needed than provisions for local government—there must be a linking together of local units and a check on policy at the centre ; this might involve the demand for some control over the non-Native supreme authority. "The anaemic doctrine of trusteeship that has been accepted as governing our relations with colonial peoples, might serve well enough as a check on naked power—as a protestation that we would not seek merely our own advantage, and exploit their poverty. But the wards rightly resent a wholly one-sided relationship which leaves the trustee the sole judge of the age of discretion and sole arbiter of the means of getting there, while carrying no promise of advance towards that goal. Our wards do not want to be patronised or to have what seems good to us done for them, but to work

in ever fuller partnership towards their own salvation." What is needed is a clearer formulation of the creed that "self-government is the eventual and not too distant goal."

The pamphlet contains a criticism of the statement sometimes made that there should be international action in regard to the solution of the general colonial question. The people most concerned are stated to be against the suggestion and feel that Britain has a conscience that can be appealed to. "The function of internationalisation is always protective, never creative."

The author forcefully points out the lack of effective consideration of colonial business in the British Parliament, and urges that at least some of the leading colonies be directly represented in the imperial parliament at Westminster.

Many important issues are raised in this pamphlet, and it should be read by those interested in questions of colonial development and reform.

PERCY IBBOTSON.

A Lunda-English Vocabulary. By C. M. N. WHITE. 1943. Published by the author, Balovale, N. Rhodesia. 48 pp.

This is a welcome addition to the scanty published material upon a very interesting language, which seems to belong to the West-Central zone of Bantu languages. Lunda has strong affinities with its neighbour Luchazi and with Chokwe which has dialectal connection with Lwena. This Lunda "of Kalunda" must be distinguished sharply from the more easterly "Luunda of Kambove," a strange language of clipped vowels which belongs to the Luba-Luunda Group of the Central Zone.

Regarding Lunda, Capello and Ivens published a short vocabulary in *From Benguela to the Territory of the Yacca* in 1882, and Heli Chatelain, a rather fuller one in 1894 in his "Bantu Notes and Vocabularies" which appeared in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society*. Dr. Walter Fisher furnished me in 1919 with a manuscript vocabulary "English-Lunda" and "Lunda-English," probably the same as was used by H. H. Johnston for his Comparative work. Of grammar, H. de Carvalho published at Lisbon in

1889 his "Methodo pratico para fallar a Lingua da Lunda," a little book of 64 pages; while in the nineteen-twenties Singleton Fisher produced from Kalene Hill Mission grammatical notes and exercises (untitled) in four "books," the first three (totalling 90 pages) being mission printed, and the fourth a roneoed quarto of 42 pages. The translation of the whole New Testament was published in 1918, and several books of the Old Testament have been issued since.

Mr. White's vocabulary is a modest little work of about 2500 Lunda words, arranged on the old method under prefix instead of stem. A welcome innovation is the use of the symbol η for the velar nasal consonant, but the author has not realized that this additional letter to the Lunda alphabet should follow the letter n in order, and he has strangely placed it in the position of ng . This should be rectified in a larger dictionary. It is very pleasing to see from the introduction that the author is warmly in favour of conjunctive writing for Bantu; he says: "I hold very strongly that the disjunctive style of writing is demonstrably wrong for Bantu languages and should not be perpetuated further." This declaration is especially pleasing in view of certain strong missionary opposition to conjunctive writing recently expressed in the area of Chokwe.

C.M.D.

Phonetics. By K. L. PIKE. 1943. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, London: Milford. \$2.50.

Research work on the sounds of human speech has been hampered in the past by the fact that investigators had not clearly delimited their fields of study, with the result that the terminology employed, for instance, in an acoustic analysis would be used in a somatological or a humanistic (linguistic) investigation. The aims of such investigations also suffered because of the uncertainty of purpose, and strictly phonetic analyses turned out to be semi-phonological and vice versa. Mr. Pike, like many European investigators of recent years, felt that a review of past phonetic analyses should be critically presented, and a system outlined with terminology which

would prevent overlapping of fields and enable the investigator to steer for a clearly phonetic goal.

His book, especially the constructive section, presents stimulating material, although one would have liked a more thorough sifting of old misleading terminology. His section on controlling mechanisms from the phonetic angle is less convincing. One misses here reference to Gemelli, Menzerath's latest work, Calzia, Meyer, Zwirner, and other continental investigators. Although a strictly phonetic analysis is attempted, a contrast with the phonologist's approach as outlined by Trubetzkoy and van Wijk would have elucidated many obscure points for the linguist.

One misses also a discussion of speech—sound

analysis as presented by Sotavalta, Stopa and Calzia.

His analphabetic system of speech-sound symbolisation is interesting when compared with that of Jespersen, but like the latter's will probably find few users, because it is neither simple nor practicable for the average linguist to employ in routine investigations : c.f. his formula for [o] : p. 155.

Phonetic students, however, will find in this work one of the best expositions of phonetic theory in English, and generally speaking a sound discussion of speech-sound formation.

P. de v. P.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

- Ashton, E. H. *Medicine, magic, and sorcery among the Southern Sotho*. 1943. University of Cape Town: Communications from the School of African Studies. No. 10. 34. pp. 2s.
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- Beckett, W. H. *Akokoaso: a survey of a Gold Coast village*. 1944. London: Lund, Humphries and Co. for the London School of Economics. 96 pp. 8s. 6d.
- Biesheuvel, S. *African Intelligence*. 1943. Johannesburg: S.A. Institute of Race Relations. 225 pp. 7s. 6d.
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- Nhlapo, Jacob. *Bantu Babel*. 1944. Cape Town: African Bookman, P.O. Box 3115, 15 pp. 6d.
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- Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission on the Remuneration and Conditions of Employment of Natives on the Gold Mines. 1944. Pretoria: Government Printer. U.G. 21. 62 pp. 6s.
- Review of the Activities of the Native Affairs Department for 1943-44. 1944. Pretoria: Government Printer. 39 pp. 4s.
- Schapera, I. *Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate*. 1943. London: Lund, Humphries and Co. for the London School of Economics. 96 pp. 9s.
- Stockdale, Sir Frank. *Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1940-42*. 1943. London: H.M. Stationery Office. Col. No. 184. 93 pp. 1s. 6d.

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